

ADIVASI

VOLUME 48

NUMBER 1

JUNE 2008

Journal of Scheduled Castes & Scheduled Tribes Research and
Training Institute (SCSTRTI) Bhubaneswar Orissa, India

Published by:
Scheduled Castes & Scheduled Tribes Research and Training Institute
(SCSTRTI), Government of Orissa, Bhubaneswar.

Editorial Board

Ashok Ku. Tripathy	Member	Principal Secretary, ST & SC Development Department, Government of Orissa
N.K.Behura	Member	Professor of Anthropology (Rtd.) Utkal University
K.K.Mohanti	Member	Former Director, SCSTRTi, Bhubaneswar.
P.K.Das	Member	Professor of Anthropology, Utkal University
J.Dash	Spl. Invitee	Professor of Anthropology, Utkal University
A.B.Ota	Member-Editor	Director, SCSTRTI, Bhubaneswar
S.C. Mohanty	Associate - Editor	Research Officer, SCSTRTI, Bhubaneswar

ADIVASI is published twice a year, in June and December, by the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Research and Training Institute, CRPF Square, Unit-VIII, Bhubaneswar-751003, Orissa, India. It publishes research papers in the field of social sciences, applied anthropology, development studies, and problems of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. It also publishes book reviews.

The facts presented and the views expressed in ADIVASI are the author's and not those of the Editor, the Editorial Board and the Institute (SCSTRTI). The authors are solely responsible for the presentation of data and their opinions.

Information for authors: *Manuscripts must be typed on one side of sheet in double space. Two copies of the manuscript including the abstract along with the soft copy (CD/ Floppy) must be submitted. *Bibliography is to be listed alphabetically and chronologically for each author. References to literature should follow the pattern as in *Current Anthropology* as follows.

BASCOM, W.R. 1951 Yoruba food, Africa 21.

BOVILL, E.W. 1933, Caravans of the Old Sahara, London: Oxford University Press.

DOGGETT, H. 1965. "The development of the cultivated sorghums", in Essays on crop plant evolution. Edited by Sir Joseph Hutchinson, pp. 50-69, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Authors should send their brief bio-data.

All correspondences and communications should be addressed to the Editor/Associate Editor

Rate of Subscription:

Inland: Single Issue	Rs. 15/-	Abroad: Single Issue	\$ 1 (one US \$)
Double Issue	Rs. 30/-	Double Issue	\$ 2 (two US \$)
(Annual / Combined)		(Annual / Combined)	

Back Issues are available for sale. The journal is also supplied on *Exchange Basis*.

ADIVASI



VOLUME 48

NUMBER 1

JUNE 2008

CONTENTS

Name of the Paper Contributors	Title of the Paper	Page
1. L.K. Mahapatra R.P.Mohanty	Land use and Development <i>in situ</i> in Bonda Hills	1
2. Md. Faisal Ahmed	Tribal People of Bangladesh - An Overview	18
3. R.B.Mohanty B.L.Dash N.C. Dash	An Ethno botanical Account of the Characters and Utilities of Timber Yielding Plants and other Forest Products in Folklores of Orissa	30
4. Dr. B.K.Mangaraj Dr. Upali Aparajita	Socio-Economic Impact Assessment of Development Programmes in a Micro-Project	38
5. K.C. Panigrahy	Tribes of Present Day Koraput	54
6. Sarat Ch. Mohanty	The Kandha of Kandhmals during British Raj	61
7. Dr. Nishakar Panda	Funding for Tribal development In Orissa: Sources, Flow and Deployment During Five Year Plans	69
8. Kalpana Patnaik	Kutia Kondh Development Agency (KKDA) Lanjigarh: A Development Profile	76
9. Pradyot Mohapatra	Anthropology and the Study of Culture	89
10. Subash Ch. Karua	The Original Homeland of the Santals and their migration to Mayurbhanj: A Critical Analysis	95
11. Kedarnath Dash	Drinking - A Socio-Cultural Practice among the Tribals of Orissa	101

Editorial

Orissa, the Homeland of the Tribals accounts for 22.13 percent Tribals of the total population of the state. It has the unique distinction of having 62 different tribal communities and 13 Primitive Tribal Groups. The uniqueness of this segment of population is that the different tribal communities residing in the state are at different levels of economic development. While some of the tribal communities are more acculturated, some are less acculturated and still some others have retained their traditional culture to a great extent. But the fact is, the traditional culture and way of living of these tribal communities are changing fast and their cultural identity is disintegrating. Before the cultural identity of the tribals get entirely vanished, systematic documentation needs to be done on an urgent basis. Keeping the above aspects in view, since last 50 years or so, SCs and STs Research and Training Institute (SCSTRTI), which is the oldest Tribal Research Institute of the Country, has been uninterruptedly publishing a nationally reputed Research Journal titled *Adivasi* incorporating the original writings of reputed anthropologists, experts and researchers engaged in the field of tribal society and culture. This is the 48th (No.1) volume.

This Volume contains a total number of 11 articles. All the articles are based on rich experience and sincere efforts of the authors. A brief on each of the articles contained in this volume are given below:

Land use and Development in *situ* in Bonda Hills is based on the empirical study conducted among the Bonda tribe of Orissa. In this paper, the authors are strongly of the view that every Bonda household should have terrace paddy fields in order to raise their standard of living. If development programmes were undertaken to construct terraces wherever possible up to 30 degree slope in the whole Bonda region, there would be terraces for paddy cultivation in almost all villages of upper Bonda habitat. The present day landless and immigrant clan members may have more equitable distribution of land resources, which will surely enhance their quality of life, not merely their dignity and social prestige. The paper has come up with a number of suggestions to resolve the longstanding problem of land in line with the social and cultural institutions of Bonda.

Tribal People of Bangladesh: An Overview deals with the overall picture of the tribal people of Bangladesh and their socio-economic status. The paper stresses that as a member of the United Nations, Bangladesh has an obligation to protect the rights of the indigenous people, but unfortunately very little initiatives have been taken for the welfare of the tribal people in this Country.

An Ethno botanical account of the Characters and Utilities of Timber Yielding Plants and Other Forest Products in Folklores of Orissa is based on the folkloric survey conducted in rural and forested areas of Orissa between 2000 to 2005 during which folksongs concerning the ethno-botanical account of plants were collected from interior tribal and non-tribal localities. The paper highlights the characters and utilities of timber yielding plants and other forest products, which are elucidated through these folksongs or folk sayings.

Socio-Economic Impact Assessment of Development Programme in a Micro Project presents a quantitative model for socio-economic impact assessment of development programmes not only considering the number of beneficiaries actually benefited from the programmes but also the impact that the programmes can make on the economic prosperity as well as the social well being of the community as perceived by various stakeholders of the programmes. In this paper, a case study of

Dongria Kondh Development Agency (Chatikona), has been taken to find out the impact of development programmes in seven villages which has been validated from the socio-economic status of the villages.

Tribes of present day Koraput gives a brief account of the tribal communities that existed in the past and the status of the present day tribes in undivided Koraput district. It very clearly states that the erstwhile hill tribes have been excluded from the present day list of Scheduled Tribes issued by Government of India. Therefore it stresses that the left out hill tribes from the present day list of ST should be included to give them their genuine claim for ST status.

The Kandha of Kandhamal during British Raj. This paper presents a very clear picture about the origin and nomenclature of Kandha tribe and its population, distribution, tribal organization, territorial rights etc. It also has described how the tribal community has undergone a sea change over a period of time due to the onslaught of the forces of culture contact, planned progress and modernization.

Funding for Tribal Development in Orissa: Sources, Flow of Funds and Deployment during Five Year Plans depicts the situation of the funding and expenditure pattern for Tribal Development in the state of Orissa during the 1st to the 9th five year plan periods. On the basis of statistical data, the paper reveals that higher outlay does not always necessarily mean higher outcome. Allocation in itself does not guarantee in any way the attainment of lofty objectives proclaimed by the constitution.

Kutia Kondh Development Agency (KKDA) Lanjigarh: A Development Profile provides a database and describes the present status of the Micro Project based on all the beneficiary households of 17 project villages. The paper intends to give more stress on planned development intervention made since inception of the project with reference to the project area, resources, people and their socio-economic condition.

Anthropology and the Study of Culture: A theoretical treatise. This paper gives a theoretical account of Anthropology and the Study of Culture based on the contributions made by authorities on this topic.

The Original Homeland of the Santals and their Migration to Mayurbhanj: A Critical Analysis reveals that since the past Santals were inhabiting in the picturesque Southeastern Chotanagpur plateau -the most attractive parts of the Indian peninsula. The scenery of the plateau is very attractive with its undulations, abrupt hills and forest tracts. There were groves of ancient mango trees; many of them are of enormous size. Later they have migrated to the western district of West Bengal, Santal Pragna of Bihar and northern hilly tracts of Orissa and tea plantation areas of Assam at different times.

Drinking - A Socio Cultural Practice among the Tribals of Orissa. The paper reveals that among the Tribals of Orissa, drinking is not merely a matter of subtle interpersonal influences; it is regulated in the light of whole series of other controls ranging from habits, beliefs, customs, ideas, values, cost, license and laws around it.

I extend my heartfelt thanks to all the paper contributors without whom this Volume of *Adivasi* could not have seen the light of the day. I also gratefully acknowledge the contribution of our Associate Editor, Shri S.C. Mohanty, Research Officer who has burnt his mid-night oil to bring out this issue. It is hoped that the papers contained in this volume will be of great use for the academicians, researchers, planners, administrators and all those who are interested in the subject matter.

31st December 2008,
Bhubaneswar.

Prof.A.B. Ota
DIRECTOR

LAND USE AND DEVELOPMENT *in situ* IN BONDA HILLS

L. K. Mahapatra *
R. P. Mohanty **

Development *in situ* Approach

When the case of development of the hill tribes practising shifting cultivation was discussed immediately after independence, many authorities wanted to bring them down the hills for their resettlement without giving any deep thought or importance to their social customs and cultural moorings. As a result, the noble idea behind the goal of making them settled cultivators for sustainable development often came to an anticlimax. Many of them simply bolted back to the hills. For many decades the shifting cultivators were being coaxed or coerced to come down to be rehabilitated in the forest or distant valleys below the hills. But in most of the cases, enough land was not available and the people, for a number of reasons, did not like to move to another ecological setting.

In this context the author Mahapatra, while working in 1953-54 among the hill Bhuyan people, noticed that in some of the oldest rehabilitation colonies like Daleisara in Bonai sub-division of Sundergarh district of Orissa (established to provide colony facilities along with agricultural land to shifting cultivators by bringing them down from the hill habitat) were credited with limited success. Many of the villagers on the hill slopes or on the hilltops remained where they were. The only change was that some families of the old hill villages chose to come down and lived in the rehabilitation colonies. Some of them reverted back to their old hill ages. But all of them in the 1950's had retained their hill swiddens as a standby in case they decided to go back to the hills. (cf. Mahapatra, 1960).

Soon enough the scarce land resources in the valleys down the hills were no longer available for offering sufficient land for settled cultivation. But, meanwhile, the swiddeners, who stuck to their hill villages since early 1950's, were reduced to destitution with famished bodies, because of semi-starvation conditions, as a result of the rigorous application of forest laws and forest reservation regulations leaving very little land around their revenue villagers in the hill slopes. This happened with greater impact since after 1980, when the Government of India adopted the forest Act and promulgated stringent measures towards forest conservation. Therefore, he has been claiming not only for the Bhuiyan but also for other hill tribes that if the Government of India had decided in the 1960's or even in the 1970's to rehabilitate the shifting cultivators *in situ* (KIS), that is, in their old hill ranges, crisis would not have reached such devastating proportions for the hill tribes of Bonai area in 1989, when he visited the area last (1997: viii-ix). He had pleaded for considering the actual productivity of swidden cultivation, which sometimes was higher in money value than the single crop raised in the hills. (cf. Mahapatra, 1990).

Similarly, Sachchidananda has also gone into the colonization schemes for resettlement of tribal swiddeners and notes that in Tripura, the tribal households bifurcated to take advantage of the colonization schemes for resettlement and at the same time to maintain the old way of life. The house in the colony was merely an additional shelter but not a substitute for their home on the hills. He finally concludes that the household was geographically bifurcated but its economy was the same (1983: 78-81).

Further Sachchidananda reports that failure of rehabilitation schemes is because of a number of factors. He says in certain colonies in Orissa, the tribals are engaged as agricultural and hired labourers, although the purpose of the colonization scheme was to convert them into permanent cultivators. This was not possible because of the "administrative inability to make available irrigational facility and other inputs in time. Agricultural programmes were not organised to orient the tribal farmers towards the agricultural practices with which he was not acquainted". In Bihar, he reports that when the Government wanted to rehabilitate the Maler or Savalia Paharia in the plains, there was a strong resistance and protest from the said tribe, as a result of which the Government had no other way than to abandon the scheme. The reasons as to why they did not like to come down the hills for resettlement for a better quality of life (QOL) are mainly cultural ones, which are analyzed by Vidhyarthi (1987: 335-36) in the following manner:

- (a) They are already well-settled in the forest economy and feared that they would not have the alternative means of subsistence in the plains;
- (b) Swidden cultivation is the pivot of their economy and their life, rituals and moral order revolve round it. They do not disturb the orders they set;
- (c) They believe that their spirits and *gossaisyans* are settled in and around the village on the hills which ought to be worshipped in the tradition of the hill culture;
- (d) The Maler have developed a pattern of social life including sexual behaviour which they think is possible only in their forest habitat;
- (e) Due to their historical animosity and towards the Santhal, the Maler refrain from settling down in the valleys, dominated by the Santhal;
- (f) The Malers have experienced the ravages of famine down on the plains but they could easily escape their devastating effects owing to their forest settlement. As a result they fear that if they go down they would have to face such famine situation in future too; and
- (g) The Malers look at any scheme of the Government with great suspicion, as they have received nominal or minimal benefit of the programme implemented for them.

This situation is also in no way different in Bonda hills, as their attitudes and life support woven around the forest ecology and economy are similarly conditioned. When the Bonda were asked about their view of being settled on plains for a better life, the following direct and indirect revelations came out as the culturally important constraints:

- (i) The Bonda people were having so many apprehensions in their mind, which some of their elites expressed in a counter question: why so and what is the need for settling in plains?
- (ii) They believe that the *Remo* (the Bonda themselves) are the first human beings who took their birth in remote past in their habitat, where they are their own masters. As a result, neither they want to leave their original place, nor like to settle with the outsiders or the plains people. (Here, the question of dominance by the plains people, socially, culturally and morally, was at the back of their mind)

- (iii) They claim that they cannot move to the plains as there is no *biri* or hill swidden fields for growing some particular traditional crops, which are not only required for their own consumption but also for a number of rituals for the gods and spirits. Besides, these were also the main ingredients for brewing country liquor and spirits. Such liquor and spirits most often are required for appeasing of different benevolent and malevolent deities and spirits, which make their life comfortable and safe from diseases, epidemics and loss of production.
- (iv) They, of course, cannot bring down their forests, streams, hills, graveyards, etc. where their gods and goddesses, spirits and ghosts (of benevolent and malevolent nature) live. They cannot abandon them on the plains for their personal benefits. If they do so, the benevolent ones may become angry and malevolent and the malevolent ones may be even more destructive to ruin their crops, human and animal lives, village settlement etc. on plains.
- (v) The Bonda have some particular path ways, hills, trees, streams, etc. through which they go or cross, on their way to work; such secluded place is convenient for capturing a girl for marriage, catching a prey in the communal or individual hunting, or for gathering tubers, yams and *taro* etc. They also catch fish in the hill streams by damming them. They then put a graphical question to the investigator: how they would be able to bring these physical surrounding to the plains to resettle the Bonda on rehabilitation colonies down the hills.

Hence, there is multi-faceted resistance of many hill tribes to resettlement or rehabilitation on the plains or away from their hill habitat. Two strong sets of problems are unsettling for them. The first one is the strong emotional, spiritual and moral attachment of the hill tribe to their habitat and way of life in the hills and forests, on which their life support system is based, and secondly, the administrative inadequacy and insensitivity in providing sufficient and timely life-supporting inputs for acceptable modes of income generation and for settled cultivation or any other viable means of livelihood.

On the other hand, one cannot leave the people to impoverishment, disease, malnutrition and destitution on the hills. So, it is imperative to rehabilitate the hill tribes *in situ* (RIS) if the local resources are regenerated, supplement or optimally used for improving Quality of Life (QOL) after a thorough and scientific assessment of alternate ways of living without degrading the Quality of Environment (QOE). After all, for rehabilitation *in situ* of a hill tribe depending on cultivation primarily, availability of land, quality of land and land tenure system are the three important variables, basing on which a model for development *in situ* (DIS) can be devised.

Basing on this background and Bonda self-image, a Project on development *in situ* for the hill Bondas was undertaken in 1990-91 titled "Model Feasibility Survey in Bonda Hills, Koraput District, Orissa, for extensive Terracing and Alternate Land Use Modules for Rehabilitation of Shifting Cultivators *in situ*." It is found out that the Bonda were used to making terraces on the hill slopes through indigenous processes that required very arduous labour in the rocky hill terrain. Hence, through further and extensive terracing of their available suitable land and through the introduction of alternate land use modules, it is possible to maximum the output for a higher Quality of Life (QOL) in the hills. If such a scheme of rehabilitation *in situ* for the hill Bonda is found to be feasible, and successful,

based on (i) scientific assessment of the local land, water and other resources, and (ii) identification of aspirations perception and choices on alternate land use modules and their preferred priorities and modalities of such development *in situ*, this scheme could be adopted as a model for other tribal swidden areas at least in Central and Eastern India, where land in the valleys or plains is extremely scarce for *ex-situ* rehabilitation of the swidden cultivators. (cf. Mahapatra, 1994).

II

The Hill Bonda

The hill Bonda are one of the most primitive and aggressive tribal people of Orissa as well as Eastern India. They numbered only 4,677 in 1961 Census which grew to 5,329 in 1971 Census registering a decadal growth rate of 14.13 per cent that was very low as compared to other Scheduled Tribes of Orissa. By 1981 Census, their population increased to 5895 registering a much lower decadal growth rate of 10.43 per cent. According to a recent study conducted by Bonda Development Agency in 1996, the Bonda constitute a total population of 5313.

These people are distributed in two Grampanchayats, namely, Mudulipada and Andhrahal, comprising 32 villages in Khairput Block of the district of Malkangiri. All of these 32 villages are located on different hilltops or on hill slopes within the Eastern Ghat range at a height of about 3000ft. - 4000ft. above the sea level. The whole area is traditionally claimed by the hill Bonda as their own land or country, and covers approximately 130 sq. kms. These 32 villages are collectively known as Bonda Hills. Bonda *ghati* in the local region.

The Bonda or *Bonda Poroja* call themselves *Remo* meaning 'man' and speak a "difficult Austro-Asiatic language" (Elwin, 1950:1) known as *Remo Sam*, meaning human language.

They are self-sufficient and *allopatric* in nature. Normally they do not like to come down the hills and keep contact with the plains people. They are even very hesitant to come down the hills to avail of medical facilities at Khairput, a distance of 14 kilometers downhill through dense forests. (Mohanty: 1993:51)

The Bonda extensively practise swidden cultivation in hill slopes and paddy cultivation in terraces in the beds of the streams or in the valleys. They also largely depend on the forest for their subsistence.

Coming to their education one finds their literacy only 2.1 per cent in 1961, which was reduced to 1.4 per cent in 1971. It, however, increased to 3.3 per cent in 1981 (Patnaik and Choudhury, 1984) which has marginally increased to 4.2 during 1991.

Some of the most important features of the Bonda are:

- (i) Rude and ruthless manner of expression;
- (ii) Spirit of independence and sense of freedom;
- (iii) Aggressive and violent propensities;
- (iv) Excessive consumption of Sago-palm wine and other country liquors and homicidal offences;
- (v) Unconventional dress pattern of the womenfolk;

- (vi) Dormitory organization;
- (vii) Declining growth rate;
- (viii) Extremely low level of literacy;
- (ix) Primitive agricultural technology;
- (x) Extreme sensitivity to personal slight, even among family members and kinsmen;
- (xi) Unique marriage institution i.e. marrying of younger boys to adult girls.

To undertake the present development *in situ* project, four (12.5%) of the total 32 villages in two micro-watershed areas were selected for socio-economic studies and conducting group interviews of villagers in these villages to know about their aspiration preference, choice of occupations and alternate land use patterns that may provide a higher quality of life for them. Apart from this, scientific study by different natural scientists like Hydrologists and Geologists, Soil Chemists, Botanists, and Agronomists was conducted in the whole of the two micro-watershed areas extending from Andrahal, Dumuripada, areas in the north to Kirsanipada and Banuspada in south, and to Bandapada and Tulagurum in the west. Soils were tested at different places for finding out the suitability of different economic crops, groundwater availability and facility, construction of wells in weirs, crop rotation, soil conservation method, etc. The import of these scientific findings was not put before the village group to discuss the possibility of alternate choices on alternate land use measures.

Land Rights

Land is the basic and foremost basis of livelihood in the Bonda hills, whether the Bonda are swiddeners, terrace cultivators or both. But as flatter land is very scarce in the hills, where present, these should be shared, used and managed for raising highly profitable crops. Alternatively, more flat land has to be created by converting the gentler slopes into terraces. The Bonda is extremely jealous and excessively attached to his land and trees. He cannot stand infringement of his rights over land and trees. He has, therefore, come to value the record of rights or *patta* given by the government to the villagers. In the traditional mode of access to land such written records of rights were not known or considered necessary. The clans and lineages 'owned', controlled, managed and distributed the land resources. Nowadays the Bonda are apt to complain if distributed the land is not granted record of rights for their land. At any rate, without the understanding of land use patterns and the system of land tenure, no planned development can take place. Hence let us first discuss about the status of land records in the Bonda hills as follows:

- (a) That land survey and settlement operations have not been done for all the 32 villages.
- (b) That in many cases the settlement operations were found incomplete or defective in 1991, as;
 - (i) In some villages *Gochar* or grazing land, cremation or burial ground, road etc. have not been provided in the settlement records;
 - (ii) In none of the village land under collective or joint ownership and land under shifting cultivation was surveyed and recorded;
 - (iii) Not all the houses of all the 32 villages have been given *patta* even for their homesteads;

- (iv) The small number of paddy terraces, which can be counted just standing at a slope, are also not recorded properly and the owners have not been granted *patta* for that;
- (v) The Bonda have constructed terraces even beyond 10° or 30° slope, but these have not been recorded by the Government and the owners have not been given *patta* for that.

In this context, Mahapatra had sought the Government's approval of granting owner's *patta* or Records of Right (ROR) to all the tribal people beyond 10° slope upto 30° slope, upto which gradient either they have constructed terraces for paddy cultivation or they can construct terraces or cultivate otherwise. Such *riyotwari* rights have been granted in favour of tribal peasants in Kashipur tahsil of Rayagada district. The Government could develop agro-forestry or induce the tribal peasants to raise plantation of permanent tree crop beyond 30° slope and the local tribals should have usufructuary rights over the product.

Fortunately in early 1990s in Kashipur area of the present Rayagada district the tribals under the IFAD Project were provided with record of right upto 30° slope and usufructuary rights beyond 30° slope, but for the Hill Bonda it could not be implemented, as their land settlement operations were supposed to be completed by 1991. Mahapatra, while directing the Development *in situ* Project at Nabakrushna Choudhury Centre for Development Studies, Orissa, he wrote to the then Chief Minister about the need to grant record of right upto 30° slope to the hill Bonda. The Chief Minister, however, conceded the rights of the Bonda peasants to land cultivated beyond 10° slope in 1991. The Chairman, COATS, Shri P.M. Moahapatra, who was the Principal Secretary to the Chief Minister, was instrumental in bringing about the consensus between the Revenue, Forest and Tribal Welfare Departments; but the Chief Minister's order is yet to be worked out for the benefit of the hill Bonda people.

(c) The land under swidden cultivation and the hill slopes are owned clan-wise and are parceled out among the lineages, which have, however, never been surveyed and demarcated clan-and-lineage wise. Apart from this, as mentioned earlier the lands used for grazing and burial ground and such other common property resources are owned communally by different clans or villages, but these have not been recorded as such. As elsewhere, whatever has not been recorded as privately owned has been mostly shown as government land, under the principle of *res nullius* or *eminent domain*.

As a result of this, it would be difficult to plan out any action programme relating to land for the common purpose of village or clan people. If the clan lands are settled in their names and *patta* is issued to the heads of owner clans and economic crops are grown under development *in situ* approach, there may be competition among different clan groups for adopting these crops and to take advantage of the scheme.

Fortunately, the Panchayat (extension to the Scheduled Areas) Act, 1996, extending the provision of Part IX of the constitution, provides *inter alia* that the Gram Sabha "shall be competent to safeguard and preserve the tradition and customs of the people, their cultural identity, community resources and the customary mode of dispute resolution" and the Bonda must be enabled to derive the benefits.

(d) Hills or swiddens though owned and occupied by clans, are cultivated by individual households as demarcated by the clan elders. When a clan has plenty of land at its disposal, its members are free to cultivate any amount of land depending upon their needs and available work force. Thus, a household may cultivate a piece of his clan land for a number of years continuously, but cannot claim ownership rights over the cultivated patch or right of use when shifted elsewhere.

(e) Even though the hills are owned clan-wise the right of control and management of paddy terraces is enjoyed by individual households, and this right is also inheritable by the descendents. However, there are some common lands meant for the communal purpose which are owned exclusively by the clan.

(f) The land survey and settlement rules do not provide for recording of these rights. Tree ownership rights are so jealously enforced by individual owners that the murders committed because of infringement of these rights are very often the highest in number in most villages in Bonda hills. Hence the rules should be modified keeping tree ownership in tribal areas in mind.

(g) The traditional community leaders, *Naik* (clan headman of the dominant founder clan) who heads the village, *Sisa* or village priest (clan head of the *Sisa* clan) and Chalan or hereditary assistant to the village head are entitled to some special land beyond what they own or use as members of their clan. This special land consisting of swidden and wet terrace land for the official position, change hand when the incumbent is succeeded by another. Even, a blacksmith (a Telegu in origin), who was sponsored by the villagers of Badapada, several decades ago, had been allotted '*biri*' swidden and wet terrace land as inducement to settle in the village to serve a number of villages in their agricultural economy. Every household contributes some portion of their harvested crops to the blacksmith. These traditional rights have to be recorded in order to maintain the polity and moral economy.

(h) At the seminar, the Hill Bonda Sarapanchs and other young people who participated, were very much interested in securing individual *patta* rights overall types of land without giving much importance to the clan or lineage rights. But further study and consultation with a larger body of senior Bonda people must determine to what extent such collective rights in land and other common property resources may be restricted or adopted otherwise to meet the changing ecology and government regulation, without contravening the Panchayat (Gram Sabha) empowerment as given under (c).

IV

Land Use

The whole of upper Bonda areas have been surveyed in 1975 and 1989 through satellite imagery or aerial photo mechanisms. Looking at the table below, it may be found that in 1989, out of the total 35910.25 hectares of land only 85 ha. is built up, i.e. under village settlement (ca. 0.24% of the total area). The agricultural lands under *jhola* cultivation, terrace cultivation and shifting cultivation come to 3.45, 1.48 and 16.73 per cent of the total land, respectively. The same table also reveals that 1853.25 ha. (5.16%) is dense forest and 5174.25 ha. (14.41%) is open forest. Plantation is very low, covering only 3.50 ha. or 0.01 per cent. But waste land including barren rocky area

(d) Hills or swiddens though owned and occupied by clans, are cultivated by individual households as demarcated by the clan elders. When a clan has plenty of land at its disposal, its members are free to cultivate any amount of land depending upon their needs and available work force. Thus, a household may cultivate a piece of his clan land for a number of years continuously, but cannot claim ownership rights over the cultivated patch or right of use when shifted elsewhere.

(e) Even though the hills are owned clan-wise the right of control and management of paddy terraces is enjoyed by individual households, and this right is also inheritable by the descendents. However, there are some common lands meant for the communal purpose which are owned exclusively by the clan.

(f) The land survey and settlement rules do not provide for recording of these rights. Tree ownership rights are so jealously enforced by individual owners that the murders committed because of infringement of these rights are very often the highest in number in most villages in Bonda hills. Hence the rules should be modified keeping tree ownership in tribal areas in mind.

(g) The traditional community leaders, *Naik* (clan headman of the dominant founder clan) who heads the village, *Sisa* or village priest (clan head of the *Sisa* clan) and Chalan or hereditary assistant to the village head are entitled to some special land beyond what they own or use as members of their clan. This special land consisting of swidden and wet terrace land for the official position, change hand when the incumbent is succeeded by another. Even, a blacksmith (a Telegu in origin), who was sponsored by the villagers of Badapada, several decades ago, had been allotted '*biri*' swidden and wet terrace land as inducement to settle in the village to serve a number of villages in their agricultural economy. Every household contributes some portion of their harvested crops to the blacksmith. These traditional rights have to be recorded in order to maintain the polity and moral economy.

(h) At the seminar, the Hill Bonda Sarapanchs and other young people who participated, were very much interested in securing individual *patta* rights overall types of land without giving much importance to the clan or lineage rights. But further study and consultation with a larger body of senior Bonda people must determine to what extent such collective rights in land and other common property resources may be restricted or adopted otherwise to meet the changing ecology and government regulation, without contravening the Panchayat (Gram Sabha) empowerment as given under (c).

IV

Land Use

The whole of upper Bonda areas have been surveyed in 1975 and 1989 through satellite imagery or aerial photo mechanisms. Looking at the table below, it may be found that in 1989, out of the total 35910.25 hectares of land only 85 ha. is built up, i.e. under village settlement (ca. 0.24% of the total area). The agricultural lands under *jhola* cultivation, terrace cultivation and shifting cultivation come to 3.45, 1.48 and 16.73 per cent of the total land, respectively. The same table also reveals that 1853.25 ha. (5.16%) is dense forest and 5174.25 ha. (14.41%) is open forest. Plantation is very low, covering only 3.50 ha. or 0.01 per cent. But waste land including barren rocky area

and hills with shrub/grass cover together constitute about 58.47 per cent of the total area. Hence, cultivable land with sufficient soil cover is very scarce in Bonda land.

When a comparison is made between 1975 and 1989 findings, out of the total 35910.25 ha. of land of the whole Bonda area, in 1989 village settlement has increased by 5 ha. or 6.25 per cent. wet terraces by 23 ha.(1.89%). dry terrace by 58.25 ha.(12.26%), plantation by 3.5 ha.(100.00%), groves by 20 ha. (533.3%) and barren land by 2790.75 ha.597.59%). On the other hand, dense and open forests have decreased by 16.75ha.(0.90%) and 63.25 ha. (1.21%) respectively. Hills with shrub/grass cover have also decreased by 4851 ha. (21.48%).

Thus, the above satellite data suggest that during the lapse of 14 years two important land use classes have increased rapidly, i.e. shifting cultivation and barren rocky area, which is mainly due to the interference of human beings who cut more and more forest for doing swidden cultivation, erosional factors and other such activities. At the same time forest land, i.e. dense forest, open forest and waste land (hills with shrub/grass cover) have decreased. However, *jhola* and dry terraces have increased in the area marginally during this period, that only 23 ha. of irrigated terraces and 58.25ha. of dry terraces, in total 81.25 ha. or 5.8 ha. per year in the average, have been constructed spontaneously out of their own resources, but it does not indicate their fast progress, unaided by the Government in agricultural development. But this is indeed, a seal of their commitment and determination to reduce the difficult terrain into terraces for permanent cultivation. In view of extreme scarcity of suitable flatter land, only members of the founder or dominant clans get an opportunity to have terrace constructed by investing a lot of manpower, even over generations. On the other hand, the significant increase in shifting cultivation area shows that the Bonda people do not find any other suitable means of livelihood to absorb the natural increase of population and the lower yield of cultivation due to bringing more of marginal land under shifting cultivation under privation threat.

TABLE
Change in Land-Use Categories in 1975-89

Land-Use Class	1975 Area in hect.	% age of total area	1989 area in hectares	% age of total area	Change in & use in hect.	Change in percentage of total area of 1975
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Village Settlement	80	0.22	85	0.24	5	6.25
Jhola (Stream and terrace) Cultivation	1217	3.39	1240	3.45	23	1.89
Dry Terrace Cultivation	475	1.32	533.25	1.48	58.25	12.26
Shifting Cultivation	3979	11.08	6009.25	16.73	2030.25	51.02
Dense Forest	1870	5.21	1853.25	5.16	-16.75	-0.90
Open Forest	5237.50	14.58	5174.25	14.41	-63.25	-1.21
Plantation	0.00	-	3.50	0.01	3.50	100.00
Groves	3.75	0.01	23.75	0.07	20.00	533.33
Hills with shrub/ grass cover	22581	62.88	17730.25	49.37	-4850.75	-21.48
Barren area	467	1.30	3257.75	9.10	2790.75	597.59
Total	35910.25	100.00	35910.25	100.00		

Source : Mahapatra & Mohanty, 1997

The Bonda have traditionally five types of land, which are cultivated for different crops. These are;

- (a) Swidden or *Biri* for shifting cultivation,
- (b) Hill slope or *Sine Liung*,
- (c) Dry terrace or *Rang Song Liung*,
- (d) Wet terrace of *Dak Liung*, and
- (e) Kitchen Garden or *Dingiabur*.

Swidden or *Biri* is that land where slash and burn cultivation is carried out with hoe; the hill slope or *Sine Liung* is the land where the same cultivation is done with plough. This land is ploughable as it lies on the gentler hill slope.

The dry hill terraces or *Rang Song Liung* are developed in hill depressions for paddy cultivation, usually above the source of hill streams. It is cultivated with ploughing and transplanting of paddy seedlings. The wet terraces or *Dak Liung* are those paddy fields constructed in the stream bed which are watered by perennial hill streams throughout the year.

The kitchen gardens or *Dingiaburs* are usually found near the households and are fenced with bamboo and other local fencing materials to keep away pigs and cattle.

Swidden Cultivation

Generally a steep hill slope is cleared for swidden cultivation upto the gradient the cultivator can negotiate. Hence a cultivator often clears a swidden patch from the middle of a hill to its top depending upon the availability of unused forest growth.

For swidden cultivation generally a patch is cultivated for three years and then abandoned for about 3-15 years depending upon the quality and availability of land. In the first year of cultivation millet (*same*) is mainly produced with minor crops of pulse varieties, like *widar*, *gibegang musri* etc.

In the second year of cultivation *Suan* or *Rigdar*; a poor millet crop is produced with all the pulses or beans grown in the first year of cultivation. In the third year of cultivation *Suan* is again grown as the main crop and the minor crops of this year includes other pulses like *Khankadaki*, *blackgram*, besides *gibegang*.

Hill-slope cultivation

As in swidden cultivation, gentler hill slopes are also cultivated for three years and then abandoned for 3 to 15 years for regaining fertility of soil. In the first year of cultivation sesame or *alsi* oilseed is mainly produced, followed by millet or *same* in the second year and *Suan* or *Rigder* in the third year of cultivation as the main crops. In the second and third year of cultivation *khankadaki*, *gibegang* and black gram are produced as the minor crops. But in the first year of cultivation no minor crop is produced apart from the maincrop of oilseed *alsi*.

Terrace Cultivation

In both the dry and wet terraces, the Bonda produce indigenous varieties of paddy which take more than 8 months to mature. They do not produce any other crop in the terraces, as according to them, crops other than paddy would debase the sanctity of the land. It would also affect the productivity of the prized paddy crop.

Cultivation in Kitchen Garden

The Bonda traditionally grow maize in large quantity in their kitchen garden, which helps them to starve off hunger in the lean season. Other traditional crops grown here include tobacco, arum, pumpkin and other vegetables. However, due to repeated persuasion of the Bonda Micro Project, some Bonda households of villages near the headquarters of the project, were also growing potato, tomato, brinjal, ladiesfinger, cabbage, cauliflower, radish, turmeric, ginger etc. in the late 1980's. But they do not sustain it for long when there is slackness of efforts by the Micro Project.

V

Productivity and the Problems of Life

We have noted above how the shifting cultivation has increased in extent in the hills as known from the barren and rocky areas extending considerably over the last one and half decades to an alarming stage. But area under terrace cultivation has increased very marginally. Even though the Bonda cultivate more and more land under swidden as well as settled cultivation in the hills, the income they derive from cultivation along with other sources is found to be very meager and insufficient for leading a comfortable life.

(1) The study conducted by the authors in 1997 reveals that the average per household per income comes to Rs.1701.02 (Non-saleable consumed non-timber forest produce has not been taken into consideration for computing the income). Hence, most of the households are below the poverty line and belong to destitute category.

(2) As a result of this, loans are taken for meeting costs of social obligations and life cycle rituals (29.03%), subsistence (27.42%), treatment of diseases (20.97%), fair and festivals (6.45%), agricultural improvement (6.45%) village level fines for antisocial activities (4.54%) and for expenses associated with crime and prison sentences (4.54%), incurred by members of the household.

(3) Loans are contracted at 50 per cent compound interest in cash loans and 100 per cent compound interest in loan in kind. Hence, as the interest is compounded at the very high rate, it becomes highly impossible for the Bonda to repay the loan in time. As a result, usually the defaulting Bonda becomes a bonded labour under the creditor. It is found that on an average 6.55 per cent of the household heads per village have become bonded labourers for not being able to repay the loan. The fact that bonded labourers serve only the Bonda creditor-masters does not relieve their misery.

(4) On an average 25.31 per cent of households are under debt and the average amount of loan comes to Rs.388.06 per household, which is almost one fourth of the average per annum income per household.

(5) As the Bonda are found to be very poor, they spend about 70 per cent (i.e. 69.95) of the total income on food alone and more than 86 per cent (86.4%) of their total income on both food and drink and narcotics and hence can hardly meet their expenditures like clothing, health, education etc.

The problems of life of the Hill Bonda largely arise from the constraints of their habitat, but also substantially from their culture and social imperatives but stressed by the lack of education and awareness of acceptable and available alternatives.

Inventory of their Resources

The important scientific findings on land, geology, geomorphology, soil etc. of the upper Bonda regions basing on which action plan could be formulated are as follows:

(1) The upper Bond region is a part of the Eastern *ghats*. Therefore, the rock types mainly belong to the khondalite group consisting of khondalite, quarteite and basement granites. The extensive weathering of the lithic units later gave rise to the landforms such as buried *pediplains*, valley fills etc. Due to weathering and leaching in khondalite regions, laterite cappings are formed on the plateau regions with some traces of manganese ore.

(2) The geomorphological features of the upper Bonda regions comprise five geomorphological units. These are as follows:

- (a) Residual hill,
- (b) Denudational hill,
- (c) Plateau,
- (d) Buried *pediplains*
- (e) Valley fills.

(3) The soils of upper Bonda area are mostly sedimentary in nature. The drainage texture is coarse and the soils are permeable enough to allow a good infiltration. They are perennial to semi-perennial in nature and here the soils are mostly red in colour due to enrichment with iron. The soils of the denudational and residual hills are skeletal in nature and have little value for agricultural crops.

The soils of the valley fills are deep to very deep, poorly drained to ill-drained in the reclaimed gully land and low land terraced paddy fields. These are hydromorphic soils, developed mainly under wetland paddy fields.

The soils of the foothill region are moderately deep to deep which are mostly unbanded and at places are suitable for agricultural crops.

In flat-topped hills, like Andrahal hill, the soils are shallow to moderately deep, coarse, loamy in texture and red to brown in colour. These soils are acidic in nature.

(4) The surface/groundwater was surveyed and identified for utilization in Bonda Hills for irrigation in the 4 villages studied.

Permanent ground and surface water is not very abundant in Bonda hills because of its undulating geographical and geological structure. The mostly perennial water streams which are present in the valley regions are found at both the sides of paddy field terrace beds and finally meet broad water streams that run through Tulaguram and Andrahal valley areas. Though most of the streams flowing in this area are perennial, during summer the flow of water is reduced to minimal. Hence, it is not possible to use this water for agriculture purpose in summer.

From a ground level check on spot, it is observed that drip and sprinkler irrigation is possible from the available perennial water streams. If small dug-well like structures are constructed at both sides of the terrace beds and the water from such perennial streams is stored in it, then it is feasible. Otherwise, water harvesting structures could also be constructed at some sites mainly at Andrahal, Tulaguram,

Badapada and Mudulipara. It is suggested that Water Harvesting Structures (WHS) can be made at Andrahal, Tulagurum, Mudulipada and Badabel and the water from such structures could provide irrigation facility to 15-20, 10-15, 20-22 and 10-12, acres of land, respectively. Apart from water harvesting structures at Tulagurum, a weir can also be constructed which would irrigate approximately 5-10 areas of land in the locality.

At Goiguda, it is not possible to construct any Water Harvesting Structure; rather the area is suitable for a weir, which will hold back the stream water. From this irrigation facility may be available for a total land of approximately 20 acres. (cf. *ibid*).

VII

Bonda Perceptions and Development Priorities

"The Bonda loves to make money and wants to have as much money as possible by the means he understands, manipulates and controls. If such *Rabi* crop yields good money, dry terrace farming in both *Kharif* and *Rabi* seasons, and even construction of dry terraces on large scale upto 30° slope, will be within their reach. Fortunately, the Bonda people are already highly motivated to construct terraces on the hill slopes. But they are afraid that the terraces constructed with arduous labour and expenditure of time and loss of earning may not be recorded as their property with *patta* rights. This fear is well-founded, as during the last Survey and Settlement Operations, their cultivated land (not swiddens) only below 10° slope had been recorded as their private property. The new dry terrace may be constructed even upto 30° slope and the ownership rights for such lands should be easily conferred on them as in Kashipur Tahasil of Rayagada district. Then only swidden lands upto 30° slope may be reduced to terrace in Bonda Hills". (Mahapatra & Mohanty, 1997).

Many of the former jail-birds, who are the opinion leaders and willing innovators, have shown their interest to take the jobs like *tailoring*, weaving of carpets, clothes and mats etc. This would be a successful programme for them as well as for the young Bonda boys and girls also. They are confident that they can take to these occupations as they have been already imparted training on these sectors during their imprisonment. (cf. *ibid*).

"Many people suggested that government should facilitate with further training and some inputs for preparing different liquors and spirits for marketing. They are experts in this and make money by selling *salap* palm wine in the weekly markets. But unless the production is controlled and channelized only to the market outside Bonda Hills this may lead to higher homicidal offence by making drinking of liquor even more widespread". (*ibid*)

Many of the former jail-birds suggested that they should breed animals like cattle, goat, pig, and poultry for commercial purpose among themselves as also in outside markets.

Most of the people suggest that bamboo cultivation can be done in unused or uncultivated hill slopes on clan basis. This produce may be commercially viable and the profit should go to the respective clan fund.

Bamboo cultivation on the higher slopes should be considered as perennial crop for the purpose of clan rights. On slopes above 30°, clan rights must be respected, not merely individual cultivators rights of use. Marketing of minor forest produce collected by women and children can be marketed through the Micro-Project. (cf. *ibid*)

Most of the people feel that as education does not provide any immediate economic benefit, there is no need for educating their children. This conclusion of the Bonda is culture-and-ecology based. The government may however seize this situation by organizing awareness programmes on the benefits of education and the diverse opportunities for educated youth. This may succeed in arresting the negative attitude of the Bonda a modern education.

Some pointed out that they do not like to educate their children as educated persons drift away from their own people and culture. Pride in their culture and heritage and the basic virtues of their traditional society should be imparted in the school system in order to curb the process of alienation of the educated Bonda. Some programme like advanced agriculture and cooperative institution and accounting may be introduced to make education more ecology and tribal-friendly.

Many of the Bonda pointed out that they feel that sending a child to school means loss of an economic asset. Hence, they suggested that a provision should be made to compensate the loss by paying at least Rs. 5.00 per day per child, which the usual wages is earned by a child. This would not at all be discouraging in the initial phase. By doing this Government would spend only Rs. 1500/- per annum per Bonda child (for 300 days of school attendance). It is known that in the 1950's and 1960's there was the practice of giving such incentives to tribal families in Koraput district. This may be revived, and will surely lead to retention of Bonda children upto High School completion. (cf. *ibid.*)

"It will be wrong to think that the Bonda are not convinced of the efficacy of modern medicine or of the medicine system prevalent in the plains. The Ayurvedic doctor at Mudulipara at the Government dispensary and the homoeopathic doctor of the local N.G.O. (ASRA), are visited by the Bonda for their ailments. Anti-malaria pills and other medicine for the care of the pregnant mother and the infant through the I.C.D.S. outlets are also accepted by the Bonda. This, however, does not mean that the Bonda continues to use the medicine for the entire course. Without check-up and follow-up action at the individual level, the use of modern medicine is highly problematic". (*ibid.*)

Even if the traditional leaders and traditional medicine may not be able to cure them, they still have boundless faith in their old system. This is very strange in the tribal world, where the tribal victims usually rely on the doctor's surgery and operations in such cases. As in the case of countries like Indonesia and Bangladesh and else where, the traditional midwives have been reoriented in scientific procedure and health care. The traditional healers for serious cases of injuries and body damages could be given scientific orientation to treat them supplementing with traditional medicine.

Facilities for treatment with an additional Primary Healthy Centre in Bonda Hills with hospital beds with three specialists: one for surgery, one for medicine and another for gynecology and obstetrics will not only improve the healthcare and bring

down child and maternal mortality, but also will arrest impoverishment of the Bonda. The Bonda patients and victims of accident have to be carried down the hills to Khairput or Koraput in serious cases. The relatives and the villagers must have been fed a sumptuous meal with beef or pork for which purpose cattle or pigs have to be bought or procured by raising a heavy loan with high interest. This has to be repeated again when the human carriers come back after admitting the patient in the hospital. The Bonda are very conscious of this process of impoverishment but they cannot think of any solution in their ignorance and isolation. (cf. Mahapatra & Mohanty, 1997).

Concluding Observations and Recommendations

In view of the existence of the poorest of the poor among the Bonda with land lost or mortgaged to other Bonda, or cultivating only swiddens (having no terraced plots), or having been reduced to bonded labour status, there is need for development of the Bonda with social and economic justice. If the new terraces to be constructed, the poorest of the poor have to be accommodated by involving the counsel and wisdom of the clans representing the village population, as government subsidies, inputs and technical advice will be an important contribution in the construction process.

It is essential that every Bonda household should have terrace paddy fields in order to raise their standard of living. If programme of development were undertaken to construct terraces wherever possible upto 30° slope in the whole Bonda region, there would be terraces for paddy cultivation in almost all villages of upper Bonda habitat. The present day landless and immigrant clan members may have more equitable distribution of land resources, which will surely enhance their quality of life, not merely their dignity and social prestige. (ibid, 1997).

“Unless and until the land question is taken up and resolved in line with the social and cultural institutions of the Bonda and the current practice of development efforts by the Bonda themselves, there may not be any stable chance and viable options for sustainable participatory development of the Bonda people residing on their hills. This will effectively curb the efforts of disturbing forces from across the borders, which seek to breed fear, distrust and alienation among the Bonda as against the government and regional society of Orissa”. (ibid, 1997).

Specific Recommendations

(1) Patta right should be granted to the Bonda cultivators upto 30° slope instead of upto 10° slope. The Survey and Settlement operation in the Bonda hills be carried but afresh to confer patta rights on the Bonda cultivators for lands under swidden cultivation, terrace cultivation of any type, or any other cultivation upto 30° slope and for recording the rights over permanent trees. By doing this as also providing inputs like implements and subsistence allowance for constructing terraces under technical supervision of soil conservation experts, there will be no need to persuade them to stop swidden cultivation upto 30° slope, as the Bonds are very much interested to construct terraces for paddy cultivation. Similarly, the land under occupation by specific clans may be demarcated and placed at the disposal of respective clans for redistribution or for common resource development.

(2) Fruit bearing trees and other useful forest trees like jackfruit, mango, tamarind, bamboo, *kendu*, mahua, *simili*, *asan* etc. on which the Bonda are very much dependent, can be grown under social or agro-forestry above 30° slope in demarcated clan territories with responsibility for maintenance, use and development by the clans.

There can be an example of such clan-managed use/development of permanent tree or forest cover above 30° slope. As the whole Bonda area is suitable for bamboo cultivation, this cultivation should be done in the unused or uncultivated hills or above 30° slope of the cultivated hills. It is interesting to note that at Chitrakonda, one notices that lakhs of bamboos are processed and sent to Rayagada paper mill but unfortunately, the local tribal do not get any benefit as the Government leases out the bamboo forest to the contractors. The profit on sale of bamboo must be handed over to the Bonda owners.

(3) "Although it may not be true in all cases of swidden culture that swidden cultivation is still a way of life, it is not to be gainsaid that the tribal swiddener strongly believes in supernatural powers and beings and their control over prosperity, health and misfortunes. Moreover, the supernatural powers and beings have been interwoven with the swidden operations, swidden crops and swiddener community as a whole. The priests and shamans in the communities still wield influence, authority and the power to sway the minds of the swidders. Usually they belong to dominant clans, lineages and well-to-do families and hold power along with the village headman, clan or lineage head. Their understanding, co-operation and participation in the processes of development *in situ*, as outlined above, must be sought, cultivated and sustained for at least a generation. Moreover, the rituals of the community, clan and lineage reinforce and sustain the solidarity of the groups and community as a whole. Therefore, there should not be a rupture with the symbolic-ritual nexus of the swiddener community". (Mahapatra, 1994).

We may, therefore, "anticipate the threat to their cultural and moral uniqueness and continuity, if swidden cultivation and its associated rituals and sentiments are wiped out at one stroke. Hence, we have to reassure them at the proper stage of agro-technological development that their symbolic and ritual unity and integrity may be preserved by allowing each clan to cultivate one small patch of swidden every year for collective rituals and identity renewal." (Mahapatra & Mohanty, 1997).

(4) They claim that even though double cropping is recommended for the Bonda cultivators, it is a cultural taboo for them. They assert that they worship the paddy seed in the annual *chaiti* festival before it is grown ceremonially in their fields. Since this festival cannot be observed twice in a year, they cannot go for double cropping. However, this cultural constraint should first be eradicated through awareness generation programme followed by demonstration of double cropping in some specific patches of some Bonda elite cultivators before double cropping is introduced for all. The seed-bed for raising the seedlings for the second crop, for example may be specially ritually sanctified by invoking the Bonda deities and spirits.

(5) The Bonda technology requires collective labour with a number of plough cattle and ploughmen at the time of preparation of fields before transplantation of

seedings. The Bonda plough is a pointed one, and is not suitable for turning up the soil extensively. For this reason a large number of plough bullocks and men churn the mud flat as is customary in Bonda hills. Hence, if such collective labour is not available for any reason, a broader ploughshare and changed technology have to be adopted to meet the emerging situation.

(6) Traditionally the Bonda rotate their traditional crops in the same patch of swidden and hill slope to raise productivity of the soil. Hence the Bonda cultivators can easily understand and adopt crop rotations for the non-traditional crops as will be suitable for the soil types.

(7) When the Bonda had adopted a difficult process of irrigation by Tenda system during 1980's, which was by their admission labourious and difficult work, they may easily adopt the recommended mechanical irrigation options. However, interest should first be created through demonstration programme and awareness building.

(8) As out of their own interest some Bonda have planted banana, lemon etc. in their kitchen gardens, the cultivation of these crops could be easily developed not only in their kitchen gardens but also in hill slopes upto 30° slope as permanent horticulture.

(9) Majority of the old Bonda cultivators opine that it would be difficult on their part to take up any modern job. Hence it is suggested that Government should take positive initiatives to train them on how to get maximum benefit out of their own traditional cropping practices. Most of the Bonda are at the opinion that once the marketing of vegetables is taken up by the Government, more and more of them would come forward to grow any modern crop or vegetable for the market.

(10) As the Bonda generally love to breed cattle, pigs, goats and local poultry, largely as a form of wealth, also for selling them locally for sacrifices, the worldly wise jail birds and others wanted facilities for breeding them for commercial purposes. For this purpose, a veterinary stockman centre and livestock promotion may be organized in the Bonda hills.

* *Former Professor of Anthropology, Utkal University & Vice-Chancellor, Utkal & Sambalpur Universities, former Consultant to the World Bank & DFID-UNDP*

** *Research Assistant, SC & ST Research and Training Institute (SCSTRTI), Bhubaneswar*

Acknowledgement: The Project on the Bonda was conducted by NC Choudhury Centre for Development Studies, Orissa, under direction by Professor L.K. Mahapatra, field supervision by Dr. Manoranjan Acharaya, then Lecturer at the Centre, and field studies primarily by the second author of this paper Dr. Ramesh Prasad Mohanty of the Centre for Development Studies.

References:

- Elwin, V 1950 *Bonda Highlanders*, Oxford University Press. Oxford.
- Mahapatra, L.K. 1960 A Hill Bhuiyan Village: An Empirical Socio-Economic Study. Dr. Phil, Dissertation, Rambugh University, (Mimeographed).
- Mahapatra, L.K. 1990 Swidden Cultivation in Orissa and Traditional Viable Alternatives (mimeographed) Bhubaneswar: N.C. Centre for Development Studies.
- Mahapatra, L.K. 1994 Tribal Development in India - Myths and Reality, New Delhi: Vikas
- Mahapatra, L.K. & R.P. Mohanty 1997 Development *in situ* of the Hill Swiddeners: A Case Study of the Bonda in Orissa (mimeographed). N.C. Centre for Development Studies, Bhubaneswar.
- Mahapatra, L.K. 2009 Challenges of self managed Development: The case of Hill Bonda, New Delhi, Mittal
- Mohanty, R.P. 1993 Practice of Bonda Labour System in India with Special Reference to a Primitive Allopatric Tribal Community on Orissa" in Vision, Vol. XIII, NC 182, p. 45-66, Bhubaneswar.
- Mohanty, R.P. 1995 Bonda in Sachchidananda & R.P. Prasad (eds.) Encyclopaedic Profile of Indian Tribes, New Delhi: Discovery
- Mohanty, R.P. 1997 Deforestation in Eastern Ghats and its Socio-economic and cultural impact on Bonda Tribe of Orissa, Fourth World, No. 5, April
- Mohanty, R.P. 2004 Social Role of women in Bonda family- An introduction in S.N.Tripathy's *Tribal Women in India*, New Delhi: Dominant Publishers and Distributors.
- Mohanty, R.P. 2007 Highland Bonda of Orissa: Their Ethnographic Identity and socio-cultural profile, Journal of Social Anthropology Vol. 4, No.2
- Patnaik, N. and B. Choudhury 1984 Bondo and their Response to Development, Bhubaneswar: THRTI.
- Sachchidananda & K.N. Pathak 1983 Country Profile : India in Swidden Cultivation in Asia. Vol. II UNESCO. Regional Office for Education in Asia and the Pacific, Bangkok.
- Vidhyarthi, L.P. 1987 Applied Anthropology in India, New Delhi: Kitab Mahal.

TRIBAL PEOPLE OF BANGLADESH: AN OVERVIEW OF THEIR PROBLEMS

Md. Faisal Ahmed

Abstract

Bangladesh is a country with a rich cultural heritage and land of variety. It is not only the Bengalis (mainstream people) who have contributed to this culture, but also the tribal communities of the country who are distinctly different from the mainstream Bengali Muslim population in their culture, religion, tradition, customs, ethnic origin etc. From time immemorial more than 45 tribal communities live in different parts of Bangladesh who are the original inhabitant of the soil. They identify themselves as 'indigenous people' in global landscape and refer the term 'adivasi' in Bangla (Roy, 2003). The term 'tribal' is widely used by the government of Bangladesh as well as in the Article 28(4) of the constitution to refer indigenous people as 'backward section of citizen'. Tribal communities in Bangladesh are subject to systematic discrimination in every possible term including education, employment, development activities and social relations. Despite being the original inhabitant and having active participation in great liberation war of Bangladesh, after 36 years of independence in various occasions they are considered as second-class citizens. One top of such hardship the people have been affected by forced settlement, displacement and armed conflicts making their lives more miserable and insecure. Land grabbing is a grave problem faced by the tribal people all over the country. Almost all the concentrations where that people inhabit are the most neglected areas with a large proportion of people living a wretched life. Overwhelming majority of the people of tribal communities is living below the poverty line. They have to struggle every day to arrange at least one meal a day. They have also become the victims of modernizations and the benefits of economic growth have not percolated through to them. They remain as the poorest of the poor in terms of both incomes and opportunities in both social and economic spectrum. On the basis of secondary sources and author's personal observation, this article explains the partial picture of deprivation of tribal communities in Bangladesh.

Introduction

Bangladesh is a country with a rich cultural heritage and land of variety. It is not only the Bengalis (mainstream people) who have contributed to this culture, but also the tribal communities of the country. Tribal people of Bangladesh are descendants of the original inhabitants of their land and areas and strikingly diverse in their culture, religion and patterns of social and economic organization from the mainstream Bengali Muslim population (Drong, 2001). They have enriched the cultural heritage of Bangladesh by their exotic traditions, literatures, languages, arts, and crafts (Roy, 2001). The tribal people lead a simple life and are generally self-reliant, produce their own food and drink and wear distinct clothes. They lead exotic cultural life, which is remarkably distinct for its simplicity of beliefs and diversity (Sattar, 1971).

Defining Tribal People

The tribal group is an ethnic entity. One very predominant characteristic of a tribal group is its ethnicity. The term ethnicity refers to common ties of race or nationality or culturally living together in a territory (Doshi, 1990). Ethnic groups, like

nations, are a collective stated of mind or collective consciousness of fellow feeling (Jawid, 1988). The most salient feature of an ethnic community is its cultural distinction. Despite there is a universal agreement to distinguish ethnicity on the basis of biological and cultural characteristics; biological cohesiveness based on racial traits is no more the prime determinant to distinguish the tribal (Doshi, 1990). This is due to the fact that much inbreeding has taken place among diverse tribal groups and between the tribal and non-tribal (ibid, 1990). Therefore, some non-biological attributes that is relevant for analyzing the tribal ethnic structure of Bangladesh includes cultural distinctiveness, language, religion, collective self-consciousness, self-identity, common customs, traditions and ethno-political traits (Hornby, 2000). The tribals bear their identity as a social class on the basis of attributes or characteristics mentioned before hand. In the wake of massive social change and potential threat from mainstream culture, the tribals witness change within their own social structure. Each tribal group is endogamous and therefore mainly remains in isolation in remote hills and forests and meets day-to-day needs from within its endogenous social resources (Doshi, 1990). They produce for their own consumption and provide specialized services from within their own specialist.

Tribal people of Bangladesh identify themselves as 'indigenous people' in global landscape and refer to the term 'adivasi' in Bangla (Roy, 2003). The term 'tribal' is widely used by the government of Bangladesh as well as in the Article 28 (4) of the constitution to refer indigenous people as 'backward section of citizen'. However, the indigenous people deem it as backlash to their identity. They prefer to consider themselves as disadvantaged and marginalized, but not as backward which has derogatory attributions. Moreover, the ethnic groups in Bangladesh find the word "tribal" as objectionable as it contains label of humiliation, degradation and insult to their of self-identity and rich culture. The logic is that they are the part of global ethnic minorities who are known as 'indigenous people' not as 'tribal'. Moreover, one problem of the term is that it cannot represent people belonging to ethnicities with small number (Kamal, 2003; Patam, 2003).

Tribal People: Number and Concentration

From time immemorial more than 45 tribal communities live in different parts of Bangladesh who are the original inhabitants of the soil. In course of time, influx of migrants invaded from different regions of the subcontinent compelled them to live in few concentrations. Presently, tribal people are congregated mainly in the districts of Rangpur, Dinajpur, Rajshahi, Mymensingh, Sylhet and the Chittagong Hill Tracts comprising of Khagrachari, Rangamati and Bandarban districts. The prominent tribal groups living in the Chittagong Hill tracts are the Chakmas, Marmas, Murangs, Chaks, Bowms, Pankoos, Khyangs, Khumis, Tripuras, and Lishais who are collectively known as 'Jumma' because of their involvement in 'Jhum' or shifting cultivation. Others such as Hajongs, Khasis, Garos, Santals, Oraons, Rajbanshis, Manipurs, etc. inhabit in the districts of Rangpur, Dinajpur, Rajshahi, Mymensingh and Sylhet region (Chakma, 1999). Few tribal groups live in the plain forests of Dhaka, Tangail and Jamalpur. Tribal groups like Munda, Mahato, Marma, Murang, Khyang, Pundra-Khatrion, Tanchangya, Rakhaing etc. inhabit in the coastal zone of Bangladesh (Kamal, 2001).

Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics ranked the concentration of tribal people in different districts and presented a chart where Rangamati district is found to have the highest (18.52 percent of the total tribal population) concentration followed by

Khagrachari as the second highest (13.89 percent). Other major tribal concentrated areas are Bandarban (9.15 percent), Naogaon (6.15 percent), Dinajpur (5.12 percent), Rajshahi (3.66 percent), Habiganj (3.25 percent), Mymanshingh (2.93 percent), Maulavibazar (2.59 percent) and Netrokona (2.43 percent) (BBS, 2002). According to the 2001 census, out of 123.1 million people of the country 1.21 million are tribal which constitute 1.13 percent of the total population and 1.20 percent of total household (BBS, 2002).

Government has registered twenty-seven ethnic communities throughout the country who belong to this group. This number is highly disputable and tribal leaders reject such statistics because of its inadequacy and clarity. Bangladesh Indigenous People Forum, an organization working for the rights of the tribal people, provided a list of 45 ethnic groups (commonly called 'adivasis') existing in the country. Of them, 12 groups are concentrated in Chittagong Hill Tracts region and the rest 33 groups live in plain lands scattered throughout the country (Mankhin, 2003). Forum also disagrees with the total number of the tribal people of the country, which has been provided by the Bureau of Statistics. The Bureau counted the number as 1.2 million where as forum counterclaims that it will be 2.5 million (Mankhim, 2003). Actual statistics on groups and number of tribal people has been a matter of controversy as government, non-government organizations and tribal rights groups are sharply divided in this account. For instance, Society for Environment and Human Development, a non-government organization, supported the number provided by the government which was sharply opposed by Caritas Bangladesh and Research and Development Collective (RDC) who asserted about 63 and 70 ethnic minority groups respectively in their publications (Murmu, 2002; Kamall and others, 2003). Apart from this, a European Anthropologist, C. Malony, in his book Tribes of Bangladesh and Synthesis of Bangladesh Culture mentioned that Bangladesh has 36 ethnic minority groups (Timm, 1992). This controversy and dispute reveal that it is difficult to identify the actual number of tribal residents of Bangladesh due to different circumstances. However, one conclusion can be reached that government's statistics do not necessarily reflect the reality of the ground. For example, in the national population census some conflicting statistics have been added as it accounted the number of Lusai population as 1098 in 1981 which was significantly reduced in 1991 to 662. Some other disputable statistics are also presented below (Timm, 1992).

District	Number of Tribal People	
	According to Census 1981	According to Head Counting Report-1979
Dinajpur	11,999	55,613
Rangpur	6,301	20,613
Rajshahi	30,824	1,20,005

Inconsistency in actual number and groups remains a hot debate in political spectrum too. It is difficult to pinpoint the exact reason for such anomaly. A group of experts working for equal rights of tribal people suggest that the Government had deliberately underrated the actual number of tribal population so that they can overlook demands for their rights. It is possible to ignore rights of a group when their number is insignificant and less visible than a large group. Similarly, government has intention to exclude them from aid, assistance and development programme describing as insignificant

(Timm, 1992). Other surfacing reasons accuse the BBS for its irresponsibility which are the outcomes of either human error or failure of the system. In one account it may be because of inaccessibility or negligence of the officials who have collected information from the field or at the time of counting it has defined different subgroups within a group or has defined a sub group as a group (Timm, 1992). Officials either deliberately or due to their ignorance made this mistake and did not take any initiative for correction. In another account, government machinery might have an attitude or a set procedure to underestimate their number which might have forced many small tribal communities not to enlist themselves as the member of tribal community fearing discrimination. Considering Government and Non-Government statistics regarding the number of tribal peoples, it is imperative to present a table showing the number of tribal people on basis of region and community (Murmu, 2002):

Enumeration of Tribal People in Bangladesh

Name of the community	District wise concentration	Number provided by organizations	
Santals	Chittagang, Dinajpur, Gaibandha, Jaipurhat, Nowga, Nator, Nowabgonj, Panchagar, Rajshahi, Rangpur, Bogra, Sylhet, Thakurgaion	2,02,744	1,65,000
Chakmas	Chittagang Hill Tracts, Bandarban	2,52,858	3,00,000
Marmas	Chittagang Hill Tracts, Chittagang, Chandpur, Comilla, Sylhet	81,014	85,000
Garos	Greater Mymensingh, greater Sylhet, Gaibandha, Khagrachari, Dhaka	64,280	1,00,000
Manipuris	Greater Sylhet	24,882	45,000
Murangs	Bandarban, Rangamati	22,172	30,000
Tanchangas	Rangamati, Bandarban	21,639	20,000
Rakhaings	Borguna, Bandarban Patuakhali, Coxesbazer	16,932	35,000
Coachs	Greater Mymensingh, Gazipur, Dinajpur, Rajshahi, Tangail, Dhaka, Faridpur, Khulam, Jessore, Bogra, Kustia	16,567	16,000
Bons	Bandarban	3,471	8,000
Khasis	Greater Sylhet	12,280	26,500
Hajongs	Greater Mymensingh	11,540	9,500
Uras	Rajshahi, Dinajpur, Pabna, Shirajong, Greater Sylhet, Greater Mymensingh	8,216	75,000
Rajbangshis	Greater Sylhet	7,556	
Bunas	Rajshahi, Dinajpur, Pabna, Shirajong, Greater Sylhet, Greater Mymensingh	7,421	
Uruas	North Bengal	5,521	
Mahatos	Dinajpur, Shirajong, Pabna, Bogora, Jaipurhat	3,534	65,000
Pankhos	Rangamati, Bandarban	3,227	3,604
Khiangs	Rangamati, Bandarban	2,343	5,000
Mundas	Greater Rajshahi, Dinajpur, Sylhet	2,132	25,000
Shaks	Bandarban	2,127	2,196
Paharis	Greater Rajshahi, Dinajpur, Rangpur, Bogra, Pabna, Kushita	1,853	10,916
Khamis	Bandarban	1,241	2,000
Harizans	Greater Rajshahi	1,132	
Lushais	Bandarban, Rangamati	662	1000
Mors	Bandarban, Rangamati	126	
Others		2,61,074	



Usuis	Chittagong Hill Tracts		7,292
Banias	Greater Mymensingh		2,000
Dalus	Greater Mymensingh		2,000
Mahalis	Greater Dinajpur, Bogra		15,000
Shisongs	Greater Pabna		30,000
Bashaks	Greater Pabna		15,000
Soras	Greater Sylhet		1,000
Khareas	Greater Sylhet, Jaipurhat		5,000
Khandos	Greater Sylhet		2,000
Ahomias			1,000
Gorkhas			
Kamokers	Greater Dinajpur		
Pahans	Greater Rajshahi		
Ranguras	Greater Rajshahi		
Mikhirs	Greater Rajshahi		
Lahars	Greater Rajshahi and Bogra		
Turis	Greater Rajshahi and Dinajpur		
Bhualis	Greater Rajshahi and Dinajpur		
Bhumijs	Greater Rajshahi and Dinajpur		
Bhuiyans	Greater Rajshahi and Dinajpur		
Moriars	Greater Rajshahi and Dinajpur		
Ramdass	Greater Rajshahi		65,000
Kers	Greater Rajshahi		
Horis	Greater Rajshahi		
Kharias	Greater Rajshahi		
Telis	Greater Rajshahi		
Luras	Greater Rajshahi		
Ruthias	Greater Rajshahi		
Mushohors	Greater Rajshahi and Dinajpur		
Rais	Greater Rajshahi and Dinajpur		
Patros	Greater Sylhet		
Bediraj	Sirajgonj		
Bektis	Sirajgonj		
Baghdees	Kushtia, Natore, Narail		
Koels	Rajshahi		
Pals	Rajshahi		

Sources: Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics (BBS):1998; National Adivasi Coordination Committee : 2000.

Predicaments of Tribal People

Tribal communities in Bangladesh are subject to systematic discrimination in every possible field including education, employment, development activities and social relations. In various occasions as well as purposes they are considered second-class citizens. On the top of such hardship, the people have been affected by forced settlement, displacement and armed conflicts making their lives more miserable and insecure (Chowdhury, 2004). Land grabbing is a grave problem faced by the tribal people all over the county. Almost all their concentrations are the most neglected areas with a large portion of people living a wretched life. Overwhelming majority of them is living below the poverty line. They have to struggle very hard to arrange at least one meal a day. They have also become the victims of modernization and the benefits of economic growth have not percolated to them. They remain as the poorest

of the poor in terms of incomes and opportunities in both social and economic spectrum. This is largely because policy initiatives have not addressed their specific needs. Environmental degradation has made their lives yet more difficult. Gender dimension of the problem is more appalling. Tribal women are particularly handicapped as their men enjoy better status where as they are subjected to domestic drudgery. Women even take care of marketing, bread earning as well as attending to children and other domestic responsibilities. Focusing on the health and education particularly of women becomes extremely critical therefore (Reddy and Prakash, 2002).

Historically tribal peoples have struggled to make their concerns heard by the government as their circumstances and needs have always largely remained either unnoticed or ignored by the government. Their situation is worsening day to day. They are excluded from fundamental human rights and their laws, values, customs and traditions have eroded by the influence of mainstream culture. The economic exploitation and land alienation, the incorporation and subordination of the tribal community in to the market economy has led to the destruction of the community as a whole (Munda, 2002). The problems of discrimination and human rights abuses on the basis of ethnic origin against the indigenous and tribal peoples have been exacerbated by lack of specific legal mechanism against such discrimination. Asian Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Network (AITPN), claimed that the Government of Bangladesh being 'over conscious of the situation of majority Muslims' has not effectively addressed the problem of indigenous and tribal people and has not taken any specific measure to combat discrimination against members of indigenous peoples (Chakma, 1999).

As noted earlier, tribal people from different ethno-linguistic groups have been living in different parts of Bangladesh for several centuries. As published in 1991 census, the total tribal population of Bangladesh is 1205978 out of whom 501144 persons were located within the Chittagong Hill Tract (CHT) region alone. The other groups are living in the various lowland regions. There are some significant differences between the CHT and lowland tribal people. Locations of their congregations have produced some unique problems. Firstly, the tribal peoples of the lowlands are dispersed in small pockets of settlements that are surrounded by the areas inhabited by mainstream people. Secondly the self-government system of the lowlander tribal peoples is not formally recognized by the law. Thirdly, the lowlander tribal peoples have no direct representation at national level. Fourthly, instances of land dispossession suffered by the lowlander are perhaps even more widespread than the case of the CHT region (Roy, 2002).

Bangladesh is one among the most densely populated countries in the world where pressure for land is immense. Migration of Bengali settlers into tribal areas have been creating various critical situations which include land grabbing, cultural aggression, loss of traditional livelihood, Bengali customization etc. (Hossain, 2002). Land grabbing has become one of the common problems faced by tribal people all over the country. Land is taken by force by local influential or powerful people by means of fraud or bribery and it is difficult for the tribal people to reestablish their rights for their illiteracy and ignorance and government officials' discriminatory attitude towards them. The tribal leaders complained that in the name of development projects such as eco-park, deforestation, water power station, planned Bengali settlement and so on, Government of Bangladesh is expropriating their land. Traditionally tribal people are mainly dependent on agricultural farming, but at

present majority of them are landless. (Kamal et al, 2003). It has been reported that 85 percent of tribal people from northwest areas are landless (Teem, 1992). They have become daily labourers in their own land. A study by Research and Development Collective (RDC) reported that almost 92 percent tribal people of north-Bengal work as daily labourers (Kamal et al, 2003).

Culturally, tribals consider land as the centre point of their lives, history and spirituality and land oriented resources like water, river, forest and forest resources, natural resources, wild animals all are holy gifts (Chakma, 2003). Because of their intimate relationships with land and other natural resources, tribal people regard land care as a sacred duty. Now being landless and driven out of ancestral land, they are losing ownership and the management system which is not recognized under country's legal system. Given this, other legal loopholes as well as government's anti-tribal policies and action of many vested interests (group of criminals, political activists, bureaucrats, frauds, local influential people and gangs) has made the situation worse. Government itself has been identified as 'land-robber' by the tribal rights groups (Chakma, 2003). Since innocence and simplicity are associated with tribal life; people of these groups hardly have resources or means to confront with the criminals who are regularly violating their land and other human rights. Even if they try to resist, they are subjected to death threat, their assets are robbed away, even in some cases their young girls and women are raped or harassed physically. Very often they are deprived of justice due to the alleged nexus between law enforcing agencies, local power elite and government officials. Use of illegal land deeds in coalition with corrupt land officials, forced marriage of Bengalis with tribal girls who hold the title of the land (Garos and Khasis have the matrilineal system where title of land are traditionally bequeathed with girls) in order to grab possession of land resorting to false registration under the Vested Property Act (Timm, 2003). Due to lack of education and awareness among the tribal people, Bengali buyers sometimes illicitly record three or four time more than the quantity of land they have paid for (Kamal et al, 2003). These processes are accelerating alienation of tribal to mainstream people reducing a large segment of tribal people to become landless refugees in their own habitat. A study revealed that 42 tribal villages have disappeared from Muktagacha, Madhupur, Fulbaria and Bhakula 'thana' under Mymensingh district between 1950 to 1985 (Mankhim, 2003). To validate this claim firmly, the following chart will demonstrate rapidly changing land ownership over fifty years in a small tribal area of Mymensingh district (Mankhin, 2003).

Land ownership situation by different communities at Haluaghat thana, Bhubankura Mouza under Mymensingh district from 1940 to 1990.

Name of the community	Number of Land owner		* Amount of land owned by the whole community		Area of land per land owner (in acres)		Government Khas land and office		Total Land	
	1940	1990	1940	1990	1940	1990	1940	1990	1940	1990
Year	1940	1990	1940	1990	1940	1990	1940	1990	1940	1990
Garo	25	29	188.84	90.35	7.31	3.11	---	24.79	568.37	568.37
Hazong	32	-	377.19	--	11.78	--				
Debottor	01	--	01.66	--	01.66	--				
Hindu	01	--	06.68	--	06.68	--				
Muslim	--	157	--	453.23	--	2.88				

* Land has been shown in Acre.: 1 Acre = 100 decimals

Though the tribal people are still the majority in Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT), their land and resources are continuously shrinking as a result of coerced occupation by Bengali settlers over decades. This process is taking place either by direct or tacit approval from the Government. Replaced CHT Frontier Police Regulation in 1948 was the first formal initiative which provided shed to Bengali settlements at Nanierchar, Nongdu, Naikhaingchari areas under government's safeguard (Chakma, 2003). Between 1979 and the early 80s around 200,000 to 400,000 landless Bengali farmers from several districts outside the CHT migrated to the CHT and it was government sponsored secret program which was executed without any involvement of tribal leaders (Burger, 1984). Another destructive initiative of government was the construction of the 'Kaptai Dam' in 1960 to generate electricity. The dam had severe implications on life of the tribal people since more than one lakh people were displaced because their arable land along with residence inundated due to rising water level. It has been estimated that the richest two-fifths of the paddy land of tribals amounting to 45 thousand acres have been lost (Ishq, 1975; Kabir, 2001). The Dam has made them (tribal) refugees in their own area and has given them the status of 'stateless refugees' in Arunachal Pradesh of India (Bhaumik, et al, 1997). In retrospect, given the magnitude of the damage, the eventual insurrection was inevitable which lasted for decades. It is interesting to note that dam produced electricity which is used to glitter capital and other cities where none of the 'stateless' inhabitants are benefited. If such process continues at the present rate in near future the tribal people will be minority in their ancestral homeland (Roy, 2002). The following table justifies the claim (Dewan, 2003).

Population of CHT (1872-1991)

Name of the Community	Year				
	1872	1901	1959	1981	1991
Jumma (Tribal)	61957 (98%)	116000(93%)	133075(91%)	441776(59%)	501144(51%)
Bengali	1097 (2%)	8762(7%)	26150(9%)	304873(41%)	473301(41%)

Sources : Hunter : 77-78, Hutchison, 1909:14-15; Basingnet, 1985; BBS, 1983 and 1993.

It is regretted that despite international conventions that prohibits illegal settlement, forced migration or land transfer in tribal areas, the process continues. Internationally, article 49 of the Fourth Geneva Convention and United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (E/CN.4/SUB.2/1994/2) prohibits such moves (Coulter, 1997). The CHT's 1900 Regulation prohibits settlement of plains people in the CHT areas which is also duly supported by the articles 28 and 32 of the Constitution of Bangladesh (Chakma, 1999). Based on these documents and being informed of their rights, tribal leaders claim that government's Bengali settlement programme in CHT is illegal (Chakma, 1999).

Government's Forest Act is one powerful instrument widely used to force tribal groups to move out of their land. Under this Act, the Government enjoys enormous power and has the capacity to declare any tract of land as Reserved Forest without the consent of the affected people. The only flexibility is that the law permits the land owner to put in their claim in writing to the Forest Department once an area is declared as Reserved Forest (Chakma, 1999). In reality, this flexibility does not bring any change to the affected people as the process is lengthy and complex bound by

bureaucratic process. Using the unlimited power of the law, the forest department occupied more than 188,000 acres of land in Rajsthal area under Rangamati district between 1992 and 1996 which made about 2000 Khiyang families landless. In this case, the landowners had not been given the opportunity to file complaints nor were given any compensation (Hill Watch Human Rights Forum, 1996). In a similar fashion, earlier in 1980 forest department appropriated about 1500 acres of land in Nababganj thana under Dinajpur district. Santals were the owner of 90 percent of this land. They were not compensated for their loss. Now they are not even permitted to enter into the forest for collecting leaves or dried branches of trees. Often the employees of the forest department harass them by filling false cases charging them of theft (Kamal, et al, 2003). It is extremely painful in any account as they are prohibited to trespass their own land, their movement are restricted, and above all they have become landless despite their ancestral land rights. (Kamal et, al, 2003).

Development initiative such as afforestation effort of the government has severely affected the tribal group's ability to survive because of the fact that identifying the tribal groups as illegal occupants and uprooting them in large number are integral part of the programme. In 1994 the government has started an ADB supported massive afforestation programme in the lands of Garos in Madhupur areas without their consent and declaring the lands unsuitable for sustained agriculture (BMSP, 1994). The government claimed that these lands were included in the gazette as forestland under the forest Act of 1927 (Chakma, 1999). Under the project the forest department will build a nine feet wall in the national park expecting to stop poaching and illegal logging. The wall will span an area of more than 3,000 acres of land that will separate Garo villages from their farmland and hunting ground in the forests (Lawson, 2003). Tribal peoples considered it as a very direct threat on their livelihood for the fact that they have been hunting and growing small plantation on this land for centuries. They are afraid that the wall will disturb their daily lives and distinct culture enormously (Lawson, 2003). The fear led to resentment which ultimately turned into a violent protest which claimed few lives of Garo. ADB backed off and withdrew its support from the project. However, government was reluctant to revise its position and is continuing with the program. It is worth mentioning that this is not a new project. Actually it started in 1978 by evicting about 800 Garo families in order to create the national park. Though 200 acres of land offered as compensation, however, the affected families could not realize any part. The promised lands were already registered and occupied by poor *Bangali* settlers.

In another similar action, the Government of Bangladesh initiated a plan to establish an Eco-Park in 2000 without any consultation with 1000 Khasi and Garo families residing in the area for centuries. The proposed Eco-Park in Moulovi bazar district required more than 1500 acres of tribal people's ancestral land. According to the government plan, the tribal people will not be evicted but they will be the part of Eco-Park (Drong, 2001). Hearing the-then Prime Minister's promulgation, the tribal leaders vehemently protested on the ground that tribal people can never be a part of an Eco-Park as an object for tourism. This movement drew support form civil society and other human rights groups who showed solidarity with the rights of the land owners.

Since agricultural farming is the main occupation of the tribal people, losing land poses a severe threat to their livelihood. Due to lack of knowledge and skills they cannot change their livelihood easily and frequently. Moreover, they hardly have

capacity to adjust and compete in a severely strained mainstream labor market. As they are poor, innocent and simple, they cannot do business within the mainstream society. Furthermore, remote hilly or rural underdeveloped areas where they inhabit are not suitable for other livelihood than agriculture. Through few of them left their traditional livelihood and engaged in small service and business, they are often humiliated and discriminated by the mainstream people. Those who migrated to cities live in a "foreign" and hostile urban culture and face many problems as strangers. Their distinct culture, traditions and way of life are being demolished under the impact of modern lifestyle. The poorly educated tribal people of the northwest, who have already lost most of their land, are the example of this reality. After being driven out of their land, they have no alternative but to be a daily labourer. Most appallingly they are victims of serious social discrimination. They are treated like beggars and often banned from tea stalls or other public places where Bengalis congregate (Timm, 2003). In conclusion, land alienation and economic exploitation that force to submit the tribal society in to the market economy, has led to the destruction the community as a whole.

The Socio-economic and cultural requirements of tribal people have been keeping pace with the endearments of their environment till recently. Modernization and urbanization have made their traditional life critical. Their life supporting environments and land have become developed due to the demands of civilization in terms of extraction of forest wealth, laying road and rail tract, mining, illegal settlements, construction of tourism industries etc. (Reddy et al, 2002). The extent of this is beyond replenishing capacity, which has brought uncertainty, misery and poverty into the tribal people's psyche. This historical developments together with time to time enactment of forest and land revenue laws which triggered the denial of the access to their traditional resources, led to the cultural and identity crisis of tribal people (Reddy, et al, 2002).

Conclusion

As a member state of the United Nations, Bangladesh has an obligation to protect the rights of its indigenous people. Unfortunately, very little initiatives have been taken for the welfare of the tribal people. Till now they are struggling for constitutional rights as a distinct group of people of the country. Though government has given partial autonomy in CHTs, the tribal people from different lowland areas have availed no such provision, which could protect them from various forms of discrimination and they could enjoy their own systems, norms, language, cultures and other distinct life practices smoothly. It is the duty of the government to preserve their cultures, protect their lands and combat discriminations which they face everywhere every time. The human family is a tapestry of enormous beauty and diversity. The indigenous people of the world are a rich and integral part of that tapestry. They have much to be proud of and much to teach the other members of the human family. The protection and promotion of their rights and culture is of fundamental importance to all states and all people (Anan, 2003). They are the most vulnerable groups in the world. Now this is the obligatory responsibility for the civilization to promote and uplift them.

**Assistant Professor of Social Work, Shah Jalal University of Science and Technology, Sylhet, Bangladesh.*

References

- Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics (BBS) (2002). *Statistical Year Book of Bangladesh 2000*. Planning Division Ministry of Planning, Dhaka.
- Bangladesh Manobadhikar Samonnoy Parishad (1994). *State of Human Rights 1994. Bangladesh*, Dhaka.
- Bhaumik, Subir et al (eds.) (1997). *Living on the Edge : Essay on the Chittagong Hill Tracts*. South Asian Forum for Human Rights, Katmandu.
- Burger, Julian and Whiltaker, Alam (eds.) (1984). *The Chittagong Hill Tracts : Militarization, Oppression and the Hill Tribes, Report No.2*. Anti-Slavery International London.
- Burman, B.K. R. (1994). *Indigenous and Tribal People - Gathering Mist and New Horizon*. Mittal Publications. New Delhi.
- Chakma, Suhas (1999). *Bangladesh: Racial Discrimination against Indigenous Peoples*. An Alternative Report to the CERD Committee. Geneva, Switzerland.
- Chakma, M.K. (2003). Ganotantro, Khurda Jatisatta along nagoric samaj : parbotta Chattagram Preskhit (in Bangla). In Drong, S. (ed) (2003). *Solidarity-2003. Bangladesh. Indigenous Peoples Forum*. Dhaka.
- Chowdhury, Mamun Salma (2004). CHOLEN : Approach to Promote Education in Ethnic Communities in Bangladesh. In <http://www.newhorizons.org/trans/international/> chowdhury.htm(as viewed on 06-07-2004).
- Coulter, R.T.(1997). Article 8(j) of the Convention of Biological Diversity and the Human Rights of Indigenous People. A paper presented at the seminar on Traditional Semi knowledge. Kiruna, Sweden: December 9-10, 1997.
- Doshi, S.L. (1990) *Tribal Ethnicity - Class and Integration*. Rawat Publication Jajpur, India.
- Drong Sanjeeb (2001). Indigenous People in Bangladesh why Eco-Park on Khasi and Garo Ancestral Land ? In Tanay Dewom (2001) (eds.). *Solidarity-2001. Bangladesh Indigenous Peoples Forum*. Dhaka.
- Drong, Sanjeeb(ed).(2000) *Solidarity-2000. National Adivasi Coordination Committee Bangladesh Dhaka*.
- Hill Watch Human Rights Forum HWHRF(1996). *The so called Afforestation Program : Jumma People faces eviction in Rangamati*. HWHRF Dhaka.
- Hornby, AS (2000). *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of current English (Sixth eddi)*. Oxford University Press. Oxford, UK.
- Hossain, M. (2002). Bangladesh tribes march for rights. In [http : // news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/south_asia/2183661.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/south_asia/2183661.stm) (as viewed on 06-07-204)
- Ishaq, Muhammad (1975), *Bangladesh District Gazetteers : Chittagong Hill Tracts*. Ministry of Cabinet Affairs. Dhaka.
- Jawed, Laiq (1988), *Ethnographical Issues in South-East Asia*. Economic and Political Weekly, April 30, 1988, p-909.

Kamal, M. et al (2003). The Santal Community in Bangladesh - Problems and Prospects. Research and Development Collective. Dhaka, Bangladesh.

Kamal, Mesbah (2003). Non-Implementation of Chittagong Hill Tracts Accord 1997 its impact on New Governance Institutions. In Drong. sanujeeb (ed.) (2003). Solidarity-2003, Bangladesh Indigenous Peoples Forum Dhaka.

Kamal, Mesbsh (2001). Resource Use by Indigenous Community in the Coastal Zone. ICZM. Dhaka, Bangladesh.

Lawson, A. (2003). Bangladesh tribes protest against settlers. In http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/south_asia/3133433.stm (as viewed on 06-07-2004).

Mankhin, A. (2003) Bangladesher Adivasi Mandider ekush staker challenge notun chetona o padokheep : Ektee dharonapatro(in Bangla). In Shangma, S. (ed.) (2003), Wangala-2003.Dhaka city Wangala Celebration Committee. Dhaka.

Munda, Bineet (2002). Challenges to the Traditional Customary Rights of the Adivasis: the Jharkhand Experience. Indian Confederation of Indigenous and Tribal People (ICTP), Delhi, India.

Patam, Roosh (2003), Tribalization of Ethnic Peoples : Ethnic Identity at stake. In Dong. Sanujeeb(ed.) (2003). Solidarity- 2003. Bangladesh Indigenous Peoples Forum. Dhaka.

Reddy, K.C, P.V.Prakash (2000) Socio-Economic Profile of Adivasis in India: an Appraisal, Indian confederation of Indigenous and Tribal Peoples (ICITP). New Delhi, India.

Roy, Devasish (2001). "Cultural Rights of Adivasi Peoples and the Indigenous Roots of Bengali Culture." In Tanay Dewom (ed.) (2001). Solidarity 2001. Bangladesh Indigenous Peoples Forum. Dhaka.

Roy, Devasish (2003). Legal and Administrative Reforms for Political Empowerment of Adivasis in the Lowlands of Bangladesh. In Drong, Sanujeeb, (ed.) (2003). Solidarity 2003. Bangladesh Indigenous Peoples Forum. Dhaka.

Roy, Raya Devashish(2002), Indigenous Rights in Bangladesh : Land Rights and Self-Government in the Chittagaong Hill Tracts. Indian Confederation of Indigenous and Tribal Peoples (ICTP).New Delhi, India.

Sattar, Abdus (1971). In the Sylvem Shadows, Saquib Brothers. Dacca, East Pakistan.

Timm, R.F.R.W (2003). Precious Land makes life hard for adivasis. In Solidarity 2003, Bangladesh Indigenous Peoples Forum.

Timm, R.F.R. W (1992). The Adivasis of Bangladesh. The Minority Rights Group. London, UK.

<http://www.unchr.ch/html/memnu3/b/62.htm> as of August 4,2004.

http://www.unchr.ch/html/memnu3/b/d_minori.htm as viewed on February 9,2004

http://www.odikar.org/pub/pub1_1-8.htm as viewed on July 06,2004.

AN ETHNOBOTANICAL ACCOUNT OF THE CHARACTERS AND UTILITIES OF TIMBER YIELDING PLANTS AND OTHER FOREST PRODUCTS IN FOLKLORES OF ORISSA

*R.B.Mohanty **

*B.L.Dash ***

*N.C. Dash ****

Abstract

A Folkloric survey was conducted in rural and forested areas of Orissa from 2000 to 2005. Folksongs concerning the ethno-botanical account of plants were collected from interior tribal and non-tribal localities. The paper highlights the characters and utilities of timber yielding plants and other forest products which are elucidated through these folksongs or folk sayings. A total of 23 plant species, their specific characters and utility are enumerated through these literary creations. These folksongs presented either in form of a couplet or a quatrain, focus on the indigenous flora and the phytogeography of the state. It also hints on the creative mind of the people of this region. The present relevance of these folksongs is analysed.

Introduction

From the onset of civilization, man has depended on the ambient natural resources to meet his day to day necessities. The forest has provided him with useful plant materials for his food, shelter, clothing, medicine and hundreds of other requirements and doing so till date. India possesses a rich floristic wealth (Rao, 1994). Its diverse geographical and climatic conditions provide a congenial atmosphere for the growth of different types of forests i.e. tropical, sub-tropical, temperate and alpine as well as coastal and mangrove vegetation. In fact, it is tenth among the plant rich nations of the world and 4th among the Asian countries (Dutta et al., 2003). Obviously there exists among its people a rich heritage of knowledge concerning plants and their multifarious utility. Also, there are frequent references to plants particularly to flowers and fruits in folksongs, folktales and folk proverbs referring to important characteristics and qualities of the plants (Jain & Mudgal, 1999). It is substantiated from the scientific studies carried on during last two decades indicating some seven thousand (7000) different uses of plants (Jain, 1992) in India.

Orissa is also bestowed with rich forest resources (37.3% of total land area). Naturally numerous plantlores survives among the people of this state, which are apparent from its folklores and folk literature. Study of such folklores can focus much beneficial man - plant relationship unknown to modern science. As there is no previous report on this aspect, the present endeavour is to survey, collect and record the folklore and folk literatures of Orissa concerning the multiple utility of plants and vegetation available in this region. The present relevance and utility of this traditional knowledge is also to be critically analysed.

Land and People

The state of Orissa is located in the east coast of India (17°48'N -22° 94'N & 81° 24' E - 87° 29' E) with the Bay of Bengal forming its eastern and South Eastern frontiers. Eastern Ghat range of hills almost passing through the heart of this state, high Similipal hills on its north and around 480 Kms of coastline on its eastern frontier, Orissa has varied ecosystems from marine to semi arid on the West, which provides niches for diverse animal and plant communities (Patnaik, 1996)

As per the division of different phytogeographic regions of the country, the state goes under the Gangetic plain which extends from eastern Delhi to Sundarban of Bengal passing through U.P., Bihar and Orissa. The climate is humid; the rainfall reaching 250 cms and the types of forest vegetation found in this region is 3c Northern tropical moist deciduous type (Champion and Seth, 1968). The chief formation being CO₂ moist 'Sal' with mixed deciduous forest locally distributed. The natural vegetation is mainly 'Sal' (*Shorea robusta* Gaertn, Dipterocarpaceae). Moreover there is natural growth and availability of other timber yielding plants like saffron Teak, Teak, Dhaman, Gumhar, Rosewood, Ebony, Tamarind and Laurel etc. in this region.

Since prehistoric period, Orissa has been inhabited by various people as evident from the discovery of Stone Age remains from the river valleys of Boudha Balanga, Brahmani, the Mahanadi and its tributaries. Oriya, the regional language, belongs to the great Indo-Aryan family of languages and is closely related to Assamese, Bengali and Maithili, as a direct descendant of Eastern Magadhi. Orissa is rich in folk literature. Its numerous folklores and folksongs are less imaginative and more realistic in nature meant for recitation only. Proverbs, sayings, adages and riddles belongs to this category.

Genesis

Folk proverbs are the best means to learn or explain any incident or event (Agarwal, 1981). Thousands of such creations prevail in Indian folklife. These are related to various aspects of natural, cultural, mythological, political, traditional and various other activities of the people (Jain, 1996). Similarly folklores concerning the characters and utilities of plants and vegetation are only a part of numerous poetic versions of ancient wisdom still alive in rural Orissa. This knowledge acquired through long experience of utilization of specific plants for particular purpose are subsequently transferred from generation to generation orally in form of folklores, being created by some anonymous genius of this region.

Methodology

Folklores concerning the characters and multiple usage of plants were collected through extensive survey of different interior localities in 30 districts of Orissa covering tribal and rural communities from 2000 to 2005. The data were collected from experienced village elders following the standard prescribed procedure (Kothari, 1990) i.e. through personal interviews and participant observation as adopted earlier (Mohanty, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2003). The help and assistance of local guide as well as language interpreters was sought when required. Previous report on folklores of this region (Dash, 1976, 1985 and Mishra, 1997) were also scrutinised for any possible new finding. The most relevant ones are presented.

Enumeration

Fifteen folklores in form of a couplet, quatrain or a stanza are selected and presented in spoken Oriya language with their transliteration followed by word meaning and explanation. The scientific and specifically the botanical names of the plants are given for universal understanding.

1. *Kusuma kathara chhalichilipa*
Gambari kathara mana
Tume ninidhana phula candana
Asibaku kali mana

(*Kusuma* - name of a plant, *kathara* - of wood, *chhalichilipa* - bark portion, *Gambari* - name of another plant, *mana* - traditional measuring pot, *Tume* - you, *ninidhana* - dearer one, *phula candana* - flower and sandal wood paste, *Asibaku* - to come, *kali mana* - desired to)

The wood of *kusuma* (*Schlerichera Cleasa* Lour, Sapindaceae) and 'Gambari' (*Gmelina arborea* Roxb., Verbenaceae) are suitable for the construction of traditional measuring pot 'Mana' used chiefly for measuring oil and similar liquid substances.

2. *Gohira manjaku salua khumba lo*
Suama ganthire gata
Sata purusata keumsaje gala
Kuti kandi khau bhata

(*Gohira* - name of a timber yielding plant, *manjaku* - central portion, *salua* - sal wood, *khumbalo* - pillar, *Suama* - another plant, *ganthire* - node, *gata* - hole, *sata purusata* - seven generations, *keumsaje* - how it is, *gala* - passed, *kuti* - husking, *kandi* - polishing, *khau* - eat, *bhata* - rice.)

For making 'Dhenki' (traditional wooden husking lever) the pillar by 'Sal' (*shorea robusta* Gaertn., Diptero carpaceae), body by wood of 'Gohira' (*Acacia leucophloea*, Roxb., Mimosaceae) and hole by nodal portion of 'Suama' (*Soymidia febrifuga*, A. Juss, Meliaceae) are suitable.

3. *Amba dahi khande ghuna khailalo*
karanja sabuthu tana
Odia, pharasa sabu misailo
Sabu taninela luna

(*Amba dahi* - branch of mango tree, *khande* - one piece, *ghuna khailalo* - became battered by weevil, *karanja* - name of a plant, *sabuthu* - among all, *tana* - strong, *Odia* - an unknown plant, *pharasa* - a timber yielding plant, *sabu misailo* - mixed together, *Sabu* - all, *taninela* - sucked, *luna* - salt).

For making the 'Dhenki' (husking pedal), 'Karanja' (*Millettia pinnata* L., Fabaceae) is the suitable wood where as 'Mango' (*Mangifera indica* L., Anacardiaceae) and 'pharsa' (*Grewia asiatica* L., Tiliaceae) are short lasting.

4. *Anithili Sisu Bandhana dikhandi*
Dhauraku kali langi
Pathara bharandi ujjala kalamo
Mahipala dhana manji

(*Anithili* - had brought, *sisu* - name of a plant, *Bandhana* - another plant, *dikhandi* - two pieces, *Dhauraku* - to Dhaura wood, *kali* - made, *langi* - tail piece, *Pathara* - stone, *bharandi* - hole where paddy is placed, *ujjala* - brighter, *kalamo* - made, *mahipala* - name of the paddy variety, *dhana* - paddy, *manji* - seed).

Husking pedal made from the wood of 'Sisu' (*Dalbergia latifolia* Roxb., Fabaceae), *Bandhana* (*Ougeinia oojeinensis* Roxb., Fabaceae) or Dhaura (*Anogeissus acuminata* Roxb., Combretaceae) becomes durable.

5. *Arua Kutili Saguana Kathe*
Pabana parika udi
Mundia kutili phata saluare
mo phata kapalaku badhi

(*Arua* - Unparboiled rice, *Kutili* - husked, *Saguana Kathe* - with *Dhenki* made from Teak wood, *Pabana* - wind, *parika udi* - flying, *Mundia* - name of a variety of paddy, *phata* - cracked, *saluare* - *Dhenki* made from Sal wood, *mo* - my, *kapalaku* - fate, *badhi* - offering).

'Dhenki' made up of Teak (*Tectona grandis*, L.f., Verbenaceae) is most suitable for husking the unparboiled paddy.

6. *Darandi anichi kendu manja khande*
Cuna kute raja raja
Bada deulare pane dhinki chale
Caula mahaprasada

(*Darandi anichi* - brought by searching, *kendu manja* - Wood of the *kendu* plant, *khande* - one piece, *Cuna* - rice powder, *kute* - smashed or threshed to powder, *raja raja* - quickly, *Bada deulare* - Lord Jagannath temple at Puri, *pane* - eighty, *cale* - works or moves, *Caula* - rice, *mahaprasada* - food offered to Lord)

'Dhenki' made from wood of 'Kendu' (*Diospyrus melanoxylon* Roxb. Ebenaceae) is suitable for pulverising rice to its powder form.

7. *Sishu Bheru, Bandhana*
Banta, Gohira, Suama
Dhenki dandare loda
Sala, Saguana

(*Sishu Bheru, Bandhana, Banta, Gohira, Suama, Sala, Saguana* - names of timber yielding trees, *dandare* - main body, *loda* - required)

Wood of 'Sisu' (*Dalbergia latifolia* Roxb., Fabaceae), 'Bheru' (*Chloroxylon swietenia* D.C., Rutaceae), 'Bandhana' (*Ougeinia oojeinensis* Roxb., Fabaceae), 'Banta' (unknown plant), 'Gohira' (*Acacia leucophloea* Roxb., Mimosaceae), 'Suama'

(*Soymida fabrifuga* A. Juss, Meliaceae), 'Sal' (*Shorea robusta* Gaertn. f., Dipterocarpaceae) and 'Saguan' (*Tectona grandis* L.f., Verbenaceae) are suitable for construction of Dhenki.

8. *Badhei gharara Sahada dhinki*
Bama buluthae teki teki
Akanda caula kande nauchi
Pola manisaku dekhi

(*Badhei* - Carpenter, *gharara* - house, *Sahada* - name of the plant, *dhinki* - husking pedal, *Bama* - to left, *buluthae* - moves, *teki* - in lifted condition, *Akanda* - unpolished, *caula* - rice grain, *kande* - polish, *nauchi* - making, *Pola* - easy living, *manisaku* - man, *dekhi* - having seen).

'Dhenki' made from the wood of 'Sahada' (*Streblus asper* Lour., Moraceae) although not suitable, can function and produce polished rice in a carpenter's house. Because, a carpenter can make use of any wood even though it is unsuitable.

9. *Pota Sala, ubha Tala*
Rua Hentala, ganthi Betala
Gharani Cetala
Tebese ghara jae bahuta kala

(*Pota* - buried, *Sala* - Sal tree, *ubha* - above soil, *Tala* - palm tree, *Rua* - rafters of a thatched house, *Hentala* - name of a plant, *ganthi* - knot, *Betala* - Cane plant, *Gharani* - wife or land lady, *Cetala* - conscious, *Tebese* - then, *ghara* - house, *jae* - goes, *bahuta kala* - long time)

A traditional house built with logs of 'Sal' (*Shorea robusta* Gaertn. f., Dipterocarpaceae) for pillar, Tala (*Borassus flabellifer* L, Arecaceae) for roof plate, Hentala (*Phoenix paludosa* Roxb., Arecaceae) for rafter, Beta (*Calamus rotang* L., Arecaceae) for knots and above all with a conscious house wife lasts long.

10. *Amba Kadamada*
Tentuli Cemada

(*Amba* - mango tree, *Kadamada* - brittle, *Tentuli* - Tamarind tree, *Cemada* - hard)

The stem of mango (*Magnifera indica* L., Anacardiaceae) is brittle or not that strong and durable like 'Tamarind' (*Tamarindus indica* L., Caesalpiniaceae)

11. *Paladhua katha Dhuduki*
Danda madakhia balada akhia
bahahela darabudhiki

(*Paladhua* - name of a plant, *katha* - wood, *Dhuduki* - a musical instrument, *Danda* - outside house, *madakhia* - bitten or insulted, *balada* - bullock, *akhia* - eyed, *bahahela* - married, *darabudhiki* - to an aged woman)

The indigenous musical instrument 'Dhuduki', made of the wood of 'Paladhua' (*Erythrina variegata* L., Fabaceae) stem is light in weight and suitable.

12. *Saka, Simuli, Baga katha*
Murkha sathire nachala bata

(*Saka, Simuli, Baga* - names of specific plants, *katha* - wood, *Murkha* - uneducated, *sathire* - along with, *nachala* - do not walk, *bata* - path)

Wood of *Saka* (unknown wild plant species without any good quality wood), '*Simuli*' (*Bombax ceiba* L., Bombacaceae) and '*Baga*' (wild unknown species) are not suitable for any important use like an uneducated and uncivilised co-pedestrian.

13. *Kagiji achara jaraku*
Adara gauraba baraku
Bandhana kathaye araku
Japamala Dana Karaku

(*Kagiji* - lemon, *achara* - pickle, *jaraku* - to fever, *Adara gauraba* - love and respect, *baraku* - to bridegroom, *Bandhana* - name of a timber plant, *kathaye* - wood, *araku* - to spoke of the wheel of Bullock cart, *Japamala* - rosary, *Dana* - name of the Poet, *Karaku* - to hand)

The suitability of appropriate material in a definite situation like lemon (*Citrus aurantifolia* Sw., Rutaceae) pickle during fever, love and honour to bride groom, wood of '*Bandhana*' (*Ougeinia oojeinensis* Roxb., Fabaceae) for making the spoke of the wheel of bullock cart and rosary to the hand of the poet.

14. *Pataphuli thopaku lamba beni*
Pakala Asanara manja seni
Patire milai yaeye pheni
Sarasa boli Danai bakhani

(*Pataphuli* - tassel made of silk, *thopaku* - to cluster, *lamba* - long, *beni* - braid of hair, *Pakala* - seasoned, *Asanara* - name of the timber plant, *manja* - core, *seni* - roof plate, *Patire* - in mouth, *milai* - dissolve, *yaeye* - that, *pheni* - a type of indigenous sweet, *Sarasa* - good quality, *boli* - that, *Danai* - name of the poet, *bakhani* - describes)

Silk tassel in cluster for the long braid of hair of a beautiful lady, seasoned wood of '*Asana*' (*Terminalia tomentosa* DC., Combretaceae) for construction of the roof plate in traditional thatched house and '*pheni*' which can spontaneously dissolve in the mouth are suitable ones.

15. *Akala gachara bakala*
Kuruma kathara paniam
Sahasra kutumba jagi basichanti
keum bate gala kaniem.

(*Akala* - name of a plant, *gachara* - Plant's, *bakala* - bark, *Kuruma* - name of a timber yielding plant, *kathara* - wood, *paniam* - Comb, *Sahasra* - thousand, *kutumba* - relatives, *jagi basichanti* - watching, *keum* - which, *bate* - way, *gala* - went, *kaniem* - bride).

The comb made from the wood of *kuruma* (*Adina cordifolia* Roxb., Rubiaceae) is suitable for use.

Discussion

Orissa with around six million tribal population belonging to sixty two different ethnic groups, possesses rich knowledge about its plant wealth (Sahoo and Mudgal, 1995). The folklore and folk literature of the state is also enriched with the lucid portrayal of this knowledge. Moreover, there are frequent uses of this wisdom through folk proverbs, adages or riddles in this region. At times people use this knowledge to focus some human aspects by choosing plant as the subject or the medium.

The concerned folklores highlight the characters and quality of specific timber yielding plants as well as their suitability in making definite items of use. Most of the folklores focus on the construction of 'Dhenki', an indigenous instrument meant for husking the paddy. It was common in every Oriya household before the advent of machines for that purpose. Moreover, there are descriptions of the suitability of specific wood for making of particular articles like indigenous measuring pot 'Mana', traditional house construction, musical instrument 'Dhuduki', bullock cart, comb etc. There are also descriptions of the quality and durability of timbers produced from trees like Indian Beech, Mango and Tamarind. Most of such articles are obsolete and rarely seen to be used in some remote villages. But the folklores concerning these items or articles are still alive in the minds of few people who recite it occasionally to express their feelings.

These folklores not only indicate the indigenous flora and phytogeography but also focus on the specific character as well as the utility of the concerned plant and vegetation of the locality. They also reflect the creative mind of the people of rural Orissa. It is therefore imperative for wider collection, recording and analysis of such folklores before they go into oblivion for ever.

Acknowledgement

The authors are thankful to their respective college and university authorities for providing necessary facilities to carry out this work. They also express their gratitude to the people for providing required information during the exploration.

** Reader in Botany,
N.C.College,(Autonomous),
Jajpur-755001*

*** Reader in Botany,
F.M.College, Balasore.*

**** Professor and Head of the Department
of Population Study,
F.M. University, Balasore.*

References

- Agarwal, S.R. 1981. Trees, flowers and fruits in Indian folksongs, folk proverbs and folk tales. In Jain S.K (Ed). *Glimpses of Indian Ethnobotany*, Oxford and IBH, New Delhi, pp. 3-12.
- Champion, H.G. & Seth, S.K. 1968. *A revised survey of forest types of India* M of publications, Delhi-12: pp16-17
- Dash, K.B. 1976. *Lokabani Sanchayana*, Mahatab Road, Cuttack, Orissa .
- Dash, S. 1985. *Prabad O' Prabachana Sankalana*, Grantha Mandir, Vinod Vihari, Cuttack,
- Dutta, S.; 2003. Consolidating the future .*J. Sci. Reporter* 12: p 9
- Jain, S.k. 1992. *Tropical Ecosystems: Ecology and Management* (Ed). K.P. Singh and J.S Singh. pp.507 -511
- Jain, A.K. 1996. Climatic forecasting for agricultural use in ancient Indian folk proverbs, *Ethnobotany*, 8: pp 85-87.
- Jain, S.K. 1999. *A Handbook of Ethnobotany*. Bishen Singh & Mudgal, V and Mahendra Pal Singh. Dehradun. p.28
- Kothari, C.R., 1990, *Research Methodology*, Vishwa Prakashan, Daryaganj, New Delhi, 9.
- Mishra A.K. 1997, *Oriya Lokasahitya O' Lokasamskriti*, Indian Book Distributors, Badambadi, Cuttack,
- Mohanty, R.B & M.K.Rout 1999, Folk proverbs of Orissa reflecting rainfall and crop productivity. *J.Anthrop. Surv.India*. 48: pp 83-88.
- Mohanty, R.B & M.K.Rout 2000, Weather and agricultural forecasting in folklores of Orissa. *J. Asiatic Soc.*XLII: pp 79-84.
- Mohanty R.B, & M.K.Rout 2001 Indigenous rice germplasm and their cultivation technique in folklores of Orissa:An ethnobotanical study, *Ethnobotany*, 13: pp 24-28.
- Mohanty, R.B. 2003. A folkloric account of the selection of cattle: An ethnobiological study. *Ind.Jour.Tradi.know*.2(1):pp69-73.
- Pattnaik, S.R. 1996. *Orissa Today:An Annual Survey*.(Ed)Sun Times, Nayapalli, Bhubaneswar, P.4.
- Rao, R.R. 1994. *Biodiversity in India: Floristic aspects*. Bishen Singh and Mahendra Pal singh, Dehradun, India.
- Sahoo, A.K. & Mudgal, V. 1995. Less known Ethnobotanical uses of plants of Phulbani dist, Orissa, India. *Ethnobotany*. 7: pp 63-67.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPACT ASSESSMENT OF DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME IN A MICRO-PROJECT

B.K. Mangaraj *
Upali Aparajita **

Abstract

The paper presents a quantitative model for socio-economic impact assessment of development programme not only considering the number of beneficiaries actually benefited from the programme but also the impact that the programme can make on the economic prosperity as well as the social well being of the community as perceived by various stakeholders of the programme. The competitive-cum-compensatory model which has been considered for the purpose takes into account the non-linearity of the impact function unlike traditional linear models. A case study for Dongria Kondh Development Agency has been taken to find out the impact of development programme in seven villages which has been validated from the socio-economic status of the villages.

1. Introduction

The necessity of socio-economic impact assessment (SEIA) is to inform policy and decision-makers about the potential benefits and adverse impacts that may occur as the result of any development initiative. Utilising both qualitative and quantitative techniques, SEIA is an approach to determine how a development programme might affect the social and economic conditions of people and communities. Assessing the levels of impact at regional or micro-levels has been engaging the attention of developmental managers since long (Batey et al. 1993, Ogunsumi et al. 2005). One finds in the literature that no uniformity or universally acceptable methods was adopted in the efforts towards developing such methods at the regional or micro-levels that could be used and whose results be validated through any socio-economic development. One knows that the differences in the level of occur spatially as well as temporally due to various reasons. Uneven resource availability, differences in resource utilization pattern, difference in knowledge level, variation in the infrastructure facilities, differences in the access to public utility services and above all differences in "way of life" due to cultural variations are the main contributing factors for disparities. Even in the same cultural region, this difference also occurs due to irregular distribution of Government assistance under various development programmes. Identification of backward areas, and design and implementation of special programmes for accelerating their development constitute an important element in the strategy for regional development, for which successive five year plans have laid emphasis on balanced regional development. Despite the efforts of the development mechanism, disparities persist largely due to historical factors as a result of which the development process itself accentuated the gap between developed and under-developed regions. In some areas, development is faster on account of certain rational advantages while a few areas lag behind due to lack of resources and poor infrastructure. In this perspective, neglect of backward areas would lead to serious developmental problems. Therefore, the need for monitoring such impact at regional

or micro level and analysis of the reasons for comparatively slow growth and implementation of special programmes to correct the imbalances have to be incorporated in concerned developmental management.

The paper presents a quantitative model based on fuzzy logic for SEIA in a multi-perspective framework. It considers the actual beneficiaries of the programme at one end and other external stakeholders at the other. The purpose of the paper is to assess the impact of any development initiative in various segments of the affected area in order to see whether the effects have been distributed equally or not. This can help development managers redesigning the implementation strategies if necessary for a uniform output in the absence of which the programme results in a more complicated state prior to its implementation. For a primitive tribal group who are known for their homogeneity in characteristics irrespective of their irregular spatial distribution in a region, implementation of any development programme should be handled with care so that it cannot be held responsible for destabilization of the social fabric of their society. At the same time, one cannot afford to wait till the completion of the programme to see its effect through an ex-facto evaluation study. In that case a suitable SEIA methodology will prove beneficial whose outcome can be predicted in a comparatively less time utilizing the knowledge of external stakeholders. However, the validity of such methodology should be tested for its effectiveness. In this paper, the proposed model has been validated through a socio-economic development index and hence can be used in any micro-project dealing with uniform development of the concerned primitive tribe.

2. Development Programme in DKDA

Introduction of developmental programmes as a measure of developmental effort has been in practice for rural development since independence. The philosophy behind this is that, these programmes will be instrumental in raising the level of living in an integrated manner. According to cultural approach (UNESCO 1995), these programmes should be aimed at the needs and aspirations of the people and the implementation of these should be based on several factors, viz., the indigenous knowledge, the resource availability, marketability and above all should be compatible with the local culture. But, sometimes it has been observed that all the developmental resources may not be drawn from the people or from the area, rather it might include some external resources which would not conflict with the way of life of the people concerned. In that case, the resource base is a mix of internal as well as external resources whose utilization pattern should be in the framework of the local culture. In that case, either the external resource should be acceptable to them or the resources to be required should be within the acceptable range of the community.

For the development of Dongria Kondhs (Upali 1996, 2004), a primitive tribal group of Orissa, the implementation of various developmental programmes are being carried out by a micro-project named as "Dongria Kondh Development Agency (DKDA)". The purpose of this agency is to shape a particular programme as per the requirement of the Dongrias and hence should be culture-specific for endogenous development which would be sustainable (Mangaraj & Upali 2005). Such an implementation can take the form of direct or indirect assistance to them. For example, under the agricultural development programme, the activities which include soil conservation, irrigation, and construction of water reservoirs & cross bunds, etc. to help in agricultural development of the Dongrias in general. But agricultural

assistance in form of supply of bullocks, modern implements, improved seeds, chemical fertilizers, insecticides and other necessities help them who avail it directly from the DKDA. But the indirect assistance raises the performance level of direct assistance. This means that the successful implementation of any development programmes mostly depends on the design of direct as well as indirect assistance in such a manner that the direct assistance to any beneficiary should go along with the indirect assistance if at all it is necessary. The economic development programme in the area can be broadly classified into four heads, viz., (i) Horticultural Development (ii) Agricultural Development (iii) Livestock Development and (iv) Small Scale Industrial Development. All these programmes have been carried out through the direct as well as indirect assistance pattern. But, to assess the effectiveness of programmes, it is required to measure it through direct assistance pattern due to the fact that the impact of indirect assistance can only be observed from the performance of direct assistance programme. These development programmes under direct assistance pattern can be described as:

(i) Horticultural Development Programme : Since time immemorial, Dongria Kondhs had been practicing horticulture. They used to grow jackfruit, banana, pineapple, orange and mango trees abundantly in their respective localities. More or less, next to shifting cultivation, it was their mainstay of life. Directly or indirectly, they devoted lot of their time in horticultural activities. This was mostly due to the availability of suitable climatic conditions for the growth of fruit bearing trees. After the ban of shifting cultivation, horticultural development programme has been implemented due to the availability of climatic conditions, soil type and other ecological resources which were in favour of different plantation programmes at one end and to minimise the soil erosion in the shifting cultivated land. Under this programme, modern varieties of jackfruit, banana, pineapple, lemon, orange and mango plantations were done not only in their locality but also in the shifting cultivated land. The large scale production of fruits from the region was instrumental for the economic development of the region. Initially "Niyamgiri Fruit Growers Society" took up the marketing of these produces and at present various marketing channels are in operation. The direct assistance under this programme involves assistance in form of cash and kinds for various plantation activities. In the present study assistance for plantation activity of banana, pineapple, lemon, orange have been taken into consideration along with their maintenance.

(ii) Agricultural Development Programme : Traditionally, there were a limited agricultural activities in the Dongria area due to its topographical location. But, their interaction with the external world has increased their need along the agricultural dimension which was also supported by DKDA also. Traditionally, they were growing turmeric, ginger, mustard, small millets, maize, etc., but gradually with the agricultural development programme these activities have grown manifold which also included growing of paddy, arhar, spices (cardamom, pepper-corn, etc.), in situ (ginger, garlic) and backyard plantation (vegetables). Of course, the Dongrias did not have knowledge for the growing up the latter crops, but DKDA has taken a lot of steps even in the form of indirect assistance which has motivated them to adopt agriculture in a profitable manner. For example, they have been trained in vegetable cultivation by DKDA officials. They grow seasonal vegetables like cauliflowers, cabbages, tomatoes, chilies, brinjals, etc., in kitchen garden as well as terrace cultivation land. The climate here is most suited for the growing up of the crops in a most profitable

manner. Apart from this, the present day marketing facilities available to them have increased their aspiration along their agricultural needs. The gradual change of food habits is another important factor for growing paddy not only on the hill-side but also in the plains down the hills. Due to this reasons, more and more Dongrias are acquiring plain land of Desia Kondhs down the hills. Apart from indirect assistance provided by DKDA, Dongrias have also availed direct assistance in the form of input assistance, supply of plough bullocks, agricultural implements, incentives for compost production, etc. In the present study direct assistance for growing up mustard, spices, in situ (turmeric, ginger, and garlic), vegetables along with agricultural input assistance have been taken into account.

(iii) Livestock Development Programme : Animal rearing do constitute an important aspect of Dongria life. If one analyses the life of tribal people, then one finds that domestication started with animals and then plants. With this concept, the livestock development programme involved supply of goats, cocks/hens to Dongrias. Normally, they keep animals for sacrifice as well as for their consumption, but this development programme aims at encouraging animal rearing for economic pursuit. At present, the Government is encouraging livestock development in tribal areas in big-way with the idea that forest dwellers knew animal rearing from the day they left their nomadic life-style and opted for settled living. In the present study direct assistance under this programme has been considered in two head, viz., supply of goats and cocks/hens. This programme was generally available to the beneficiaries who were not in a position to be directly benefited from agriculture or/and horticulture.

(iv) Small Scale Industrial Development Programme : The direct assistance under this programme was mostly available to landless households as well as to women. This programme involves supply of bee-boxes, spinning materials, blacksmithy and carpentry tools, embroidery kits, etc. But, the present study takes into account the following activities for the purpose.

(a) Embroidery : Dongria Kondh girls are skilled in embroidery works. They have developed special interest because of its socio-cultural importance in the community. They used to practice embroidery works without using any machine or better type of materials. But, with the subsidy available to Dongria girls and women from DKDA, they were able to get better type of embroidery materials which not only served the purpose of their socio-cultural needs, but also it was found that embroider cloths also found a market in the demand of ethnic items.

(b) Bee-Keeping : Dongria Kondh area specially the Niyamgiri hill ranges is full of different flowering trees all over the year. Also, the large scale growing of mustard and ginger in the area is very much suitable for bee-keeping. Undoubtedly, honey collection was one of the important forest collection activities of the Dongrias. This experience of the Dongrias has been thought to be utilized in this developmental activity. For this purposes, bee-boxes have been distributed among beneficiaries.

(c) Spinning : Dongria Kondhs, both men and women are habituated in using a particular type of clothes which are only available in the local markets in a very high price. In order to activate weaving activities, spinning materials were provided to Dongria women under the scheme.

All the above development programmes which aimed at lifting the socio-economic levels of the Dongrias need to be assessed for the impact that they can make in their socio-economic development. This is because the Dongria villages are distributed over the Niyamgiri hill ranges and the distance of one village from the other is quite significant. As a result, the resource availability pattern in all the villages is not obviously uniform. This leads to a non-uniform pattern in the utility of development assistance under the above development programmes. For example, in the Dongria villages nearer to the plain, the beneficiaries under agricultural development programme utilized the agricultural assistance in a more meaningful manner than the beneficiaries of the villages in the upper regions.

3. Measuring Development:

In order to measure and monitor regional variations in development, UNDP defines "human development" as a process of enlarging people's choice, including living a healthy life, to be educated and to have access to resources needed for a standard of living. This new approach to human development emphasizes the importance of a people centered process of development. This concept argues that a basic distinction must be made between the means and ends of development. Human well being is the real end of all developmental activities and development must be centered on enhancing achievements, freedom and capabilities of human beings. It is the life they live that is of intrinsic importance, not the income and commodities they happen to possess. The basic approach of human development reports (HDR) values capabilities related to health, nutrition, basic education and ends in themselves and income as the only means to achieve these ends. The approach is based on capability-oriented development process as suggested by Sen (1985, 1987). The HDRs have constructed the human development indices (HDI) for different countries of the world. They have ranked these countries on the basis of their respective HDI values and pushed forward the debate on alternate types of policies to promote true development.

Hence, the premise of "human development" approach is that people are the beneficiaries of development. Per capita income and economic growth can be automatically translated into the betterment of life. The focus of development is on people and how people benefit from the developmental inputs is a means and not the end. The attainment of high level of "income" in itself is not important. What is more important is how income is spent to benefit people. In case of developmental inputs, it ultimately means how these can be utilized for the benefit for the people. Because, most of the times, it has been observed from the implementation of various anti-poverty programmes that the developmental assistance could not be even appreciated by the beneficiaries as a result of whom the Government as its duty spends a lot for the purpose and the beneficiaries are, on the other hand, blamed for the non-utilization. This is mostly because of the fact that, the beneficiaries are very often ignorant of its utility or the local resources not permitting for its utilization. Keeping this in view, the use of human development index for the measurement and monitoring of human development has been encouraged so that some sort of quantification can be done in the area of development which will be helpful in the era of information technology so that the developmental managers get some concrete idea about the development process from time to time as well as from place to place. Once this type of index can be used, the regional disparities can be minimized through specially designed developmental packages for the backward areas. The minimum and maximum values

of each indicator to be identified for the various areas are to be considered. For example, if $i = 1, 2, \dots, m$ for the indicators and $j = 1, 2, \dots, n$ for the areas, then the development index for the j^{th} area for the i^{th} variable can be computed as :

$$D_{ij} = \frac{X_{ij} - \text{Min}(X_{ij})}{\text{Max}(X_{ij}) - \text{Min}(X_{ij})}, \text{ where}$$

X_{ij} determines the value of the i^{th} indicator in the j^{th} area for which $i = 1, 2, \dots, m$ and $j = 1, 2, \dots, n$. The development indicator may be defined as the average of the variable D_{ij} . Hence,

$$D_j = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^m D_{ij}}{m} : j = 1, 2, \dots, n.$$

Here, development index can be defined by such a linear function where the marginal development is assumed to be constant. At the same time, for defining the development index, one has to clearly define the values of $\text{Min}(X_{ij})$ and $\text{Max}(X_{ij})$ with respect to that area concerned. This means that $\text{Min}(X_{ij})$ as well as $\text{Max}(X_{ij})$ may vary from place to place. But in reality the importance of these indicators to the development may not be the same as viewed by the beneficiaries or even by the developmental expert. In that case, a "weighted average development indicator" may be considered in place of simple average development indicator. No doubt, there are various types of weighted averages and the simplest of the type is the weighted additive averages. Hence, the average development indicator may be defined taking the weighted average as:

$$D_j = \sum_{i=1}^m P_i D_{ij} : j = 1, 2, \dots, n.$$

where $P_i : i = 1, 2, \dots, m$ are the corresponding weights attached to the indicators. These weights are nothing but the relative weights of the indicators which means that the importance of each indicator can be judged with respect to the other indicators. Hence, this approach deals with linear development function and corresponding weights highlighting the relative priority of the indicators over others. On the contrary, non-linear development functions can also be considered where the non-linearity can be simplified by piecewise linear development function. For example, if the development value along an indicator be measured over 10 years, then this value does not show similar trend over the entire period. This means that if the entire period is broken down to ten periods each period representing a particular year, then a particular value in the indicator gets different values in these ten periods. Taking the example of literacy, ten persons becoming literate in the first year gets more development value than ten persons becoming literate in successive years. Hence, the rate of development value decreases with respect to change in the value of X_{ij} . However, measuring development from a development programme in this approach is more or less an ex-facto evaluation research and for a small community, it is more meaningful if it can be done in a multi-perspective framework (Mangaraj & Upali 2008) involving all the stakeholders whose opinion contributes in measuring the value of development. But, very often it becomes necessary to study the impact of the development process just after the initiation of the programme for justifying the continuity of it. And, this impact in a cultural approach should also be holistic and should involve both the social and economic dimensions.

4. Assessing Socio-economic Impact:

Either single or multiple development indicator(s) can carry out assessment of socio-economic development. For example, if development is considered in terms of per capita income and assessment has to be done only through this, then the rate of change of per capita income shows the trend of the development process based on per capita income of the individuals under consideration. Assessment of this sort is a temporal monitoring process as it involves the time parameter for the same space. At the same time, if a development programme is implemented in various regions, this process can be done spatially in order to know the inequality of the regions. But, if one is interested to assess the developmental states attained by a developmental programme, either across time or regions, it is a difficult procedure. This is because, development is a holistic phenomenon and development of society involves development in all aspects of life. For example, if economic development is only considered in terms of household income, then the change in the income before and after utilization of the developmental assistance shows the change in the developmental states, but economic development can be viewed in terms of multiple indicators some of which may be quantitative and some of which may be qualitative. Hence, in that perspective, if one tries to find out the developmental change, then it involves a lot of parameters both qualitative and quantitative and at the same time, there may be inter-dependence and inter-relationship among these variables. In this context, either one tries to find out the developmental value in terms of some quantifiable indicators or writes a detailed ethnography based upon the change effects due to the assistance. Hence, both the approaches have merits as well as demerits. The quantitative approach cannot incorporate the qualitative aspects of change whereas the qualitative approach can be only possible through the ethnographer. Considering both the above approaches, an approach has been considered in this work which has taken into account both the qualitative and quantitative approaches. The quantitative measure has been considered through a quantitative parameter whereas the qualitative aspects have been highlighted through a participative approach of external stakeholders who have sufficient knowledge of the area. Hence, one can say that, this approach is a combination of both qualitative and quantitative approaches at one end and involvement of internal as well as external stakeholders at the other.

In case of assessment of the developmental activity of DKDA through various developmental schemes, this approach has been applied to seven villages as mentioned in table-1. No doubt, various developmental schemes, viz., plantation programme, agriculture and horticulture assistances, supply of goats and cocks, etc. were in operation by DKDA for the villages covered under DKDA, the utility levels of the schemes varied from village to village. For example, the villages nearer to the DKDA were in advantages position than the farther villages. Similarly, the adoption levels of the schemes varied from time to time. For example, for the successful schemes in a particular year, the demand for the same increased for the successive years. Similarly, for the unsuccessful schemes, the demands for the adoption showed a reverse trend. On the whole, the utilization level of the schemes depended upon so many parameters, starting from the knowledge level of the beneficiaries to resource availability and many other factors. Hence, even if the scheme is availed by a beneficiary, the contribution to development starts only when the beneficiary is benefited from the scheme. But, "benefit level" cannot be solely considered as the

level of development. Since, there exists multiple numbers of schemes in a development programme, the benefit level of one scheme cannot be comparable to the other. This requires that both the schemes be brought to a common platform so that they can be considered equally for contributing towards the development. This process generates a weighting structure for the schemes which reflects the importance of the schemes to the overall development considering the feasibility, acceptability as well as effectiveness of the schemes in the area. This demands a broader knowledge domain, which can do the above job. For this, a group of external stakeholders have been taken into account that can visualize the qualitative changes and represent it in a quantitative framework. In this context, one can say that:

Developmental state (D) \propto Benefit level of the scheme, by the beneficiaries (B)

Development state (D) \propto Importance level attached to the scheme by the stakeholders (I)

Hence from the above two relations, one can conclude that:

Development state by a developmental scheme = Benefit level raised to importance level = B^I . This means that the developmental change due to a programme consisting of various schemes is nothing but the total of the development as components (B^I) of the corresponding schemes. Hence,

$$\text{Development} = \sum_{i=1}^m B_i \text{ where there are } m \text{ number of schemes in the programme}$$

As we know that a simple society is homogeneous both structurally and functionally, this aspect of the society is instrumental for an uniform autonomous development. But, in the context of Government sponsored development programme, the uniformity in development status gets distorted due to unequal distribution of development assistance across the region. For example, when a programme consists of several developmental schemes, it is difficult to assess the contribution of each towards development before its implementation. Undoubtedly, it is difficult to provide identical assistance to each household of the area. Hence, this will require the optimal design of development scheme-mix for each village of the region depending upon the availability of the developmental assistance, the knowledge of the contribution of each of the assistance towards development, the number of the households of each of the villages etc. prior to implementation. But, most of the time it is not done in the desired manner and implementation takes place directly without any such prior exercises. This leads to an unequal distribution pattern of these schemes and disproportionate development which ultimately destroys the long-lasting homogeneity of the simple society. Even if, the schemes are proportionately distributed in the region, the utility level does not remain uniform due to various reasons. Hence, in order to further provide the assistance in the assisted area, it is first required to assess the developmental status of the various villages. This can act as the input for further planning for the regions. Therefore, one can conclude that, for the implementation of sponsored development programmes in simple societies, an integrated assessment mechanism is a must which should be able to manipulate the various developmental outputs into a common scale so that the developmental pattern can be observed in order to minimise the inequality created by the implementation of such programmes.

But, now the question arises as to how to assess a developmental programme implemented in a simple society. No doubt, various methods both qualitative and quantitative are in practice for such activities even in various tribal development programme which involve single dimensional to multi-dimensional assessment. Also, the process can be carried out based purely on the information either collected by ethnographic methods or by participatory rural appraisal methods which are from the point of view of the beneficiaries or based on the information collected from various stakeholders from their judgments. This paper deals with a methodology for assessment which is a combination of both the approaches so that the beneficiaries as well as the external stakeholders become the actors for such a process. This is due to the fact that both local knowledge as well as the modern knowledge has to be considered for the purpose. In this perspective, one of the important cultural parameters is the benefit level. This is because when a scheme is implemented, the acceptability of it purely depends on the societal culture. This means that culture sometimes acts as a growth positive factor or a growth negative factor for the successful implementation of the scheme. Hence, the rate of benefit as well as effectiveness will be more in a culturally compatible environment. On the whole one can say that from the benefit levels of the schemes, the cultural compatibilities of the schemes can be known and one can also grade the schemes numerically basing on these parameters. This will be quite helpful in determining the developmental contribution of various schemes for an area.

In order to assess the developmental contributions of the schemes and hence, the developmental status of an area, one needs a framework or a basis. This will enable the assessment of the areas in order of their development contributed by the schemes. In this perspective an index or even an indicator having a lower as well upper bound can be good choice. This means that an area having a lower value in the indicator or index is less developed area compared to another area. Hence, one can compare the areas in terms of development and this comparison will be instrumental in designing further development strategies. But sometimes, multiple indicators are required for the purpose, which may be measured in various scales of measurement. For that, a common platform should be considered for aggregating the indicators for a developmental index. Even, to define an indicator and its corresponding value there is no such generalized procedure. For example, "Suppose in a village, development assistance under a particular scheme has been given to 100 households. It might so happen that all of them might have been benefited from the scheme or none has been benefited or some have been benefited. To define the indicator as the benefit level one may set an upper limit as well as a lower limit for the persons benefited based on which he has to define the values for the indicator. To an expert, the scheme may be termed as effective, when at least 20% of the beneficiaries have been benefited at one end, and at the most 80% at the other end. Hence, one can explain the indicator as:

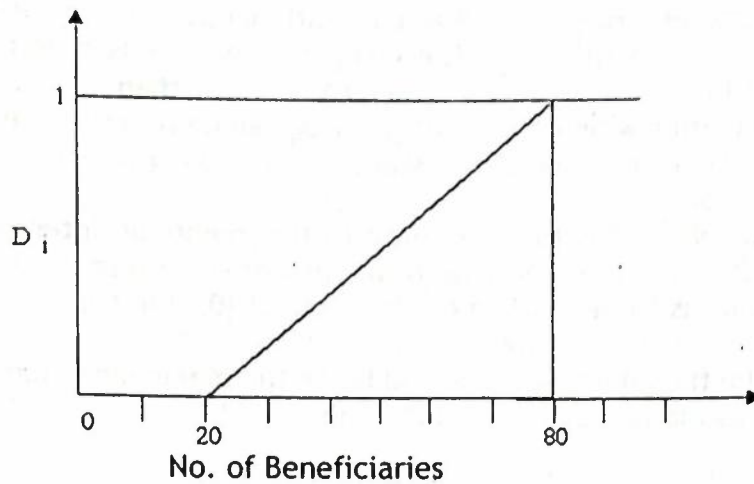
$$D_i = \left\{ \begin{array}{l} 0 \\ D_i - \text{No. of Beneficiary} \\ \text{-----} \\ 80 - 20 \\ 1 \end{array} \right.$$

No. of Beneficiaries \square 20

20 \square No. of Beneficiaries \square 80

No. of Beneficiaries \square 80

The diagrammatic representation of it can be made as:



This means that, the development indicator is a piecewise-linear function which is linear in the regions 0-20, 20-80 and 80-100. Hence, to define an indicator, it needs assumptions regarding the bounds as well as the nature of the function. This clearly indicates that the indicator is a fuzzy set (Zadeh 1965) and the aggregation of indicators depends upon fuzzy aggregating operators. Hence, the design of development indicators and index needs fuzzy logic which has been highlighted in this paper. That is, the information needed for assessing development status can be generated through the fuzzy information management principles. But, in real life human decision-making it has been observed that, when development is considered due to various attributes, then it cannot be judged in discrete manner. For example, in a programme where there are some schemes, the development contributed by the schemes is neither due to the maximum contributor nor due to minimum contributor independently, similarly, it cannot be the discrete average of the contribution made by the schemes. This may be observed as:

Suppose: $\mu_A = 1, \mu_B = 0.7, \mu_C = 0.4$ are the developmental indicators due to schemes A, B and C respectively, then the development indicator due to "maximum" aggregation operator is $\text{Max} [\mu_A, \mu_B, \mu_C] = 1$

The developmental indicator due to "minimum" aggregation operator is:

$$\text{Min} [\mu_A, \mu_B, \mu_C] = 0.4$$

Similarly the development due to "average" aggregation operator for the above can be:

$$[\mu_A + \mu_B + \mu_C] = 1.0 + 0.7 + 0.4 = 0.7$$

This means that, the composite index cannot just be the average of the individual indices. Because, the schemes in a particular programme operate in an interconnected manner. Rather this index should be a synthetic index which may be represented as:

$$D_{ij} = \left\{ \prod_{i=1}^m \left(D_{ij}^{\lambda_i} \right) \right\}^{1-\gamma} \cdot \left\{ 1 - \prod_{i=1}^m \left(1 - D_{ij}^{\lambda_i} \right) \right\}^{\gamma} \quad 0 \leq \gamma \leq 1 \text{ and } j = 1, 2, \dots, n$$

where, $D_{ij} : i=1, 2, \dots, m$ represents the membership functions of the fuzzy development indicator.

α_i : the weight of the indicator D_{ij} given by the stakeholders . This concept is the extension of of α -operator (Zimmerman & Zysno 1980) applied to product aggregation operator of fuzzy sets. Here $\alpha = 0.5$ as conventional agreement for a competitive-cum-compensatory decision situation. The computation of α_i is based on a method (Shin 1993) which is intuitive and much easier to perform than the other methods. Shin's method of calculating weight α_i for fuzzy set D_{ij} can be described as follows:

- (i) Suppose there is P number of stakeholders taking part in the evaluation of the weight α_i of D_{ij} .
- (ii) Each stakeholder is to mark three to five points on interval [0,1] showing the importance of i-th scheme for development related to evaluation.
- (iii) Each point is to be marked on the interval [0,1] in separate sheet and without reference to the previous marked points.
- (iv) Let a_{ki} be the minimum value and b_{ki} be the maximum value of the three or five points marked by stakeholder k and,

$$W_i = \frac{1}{p} \sum_{k=1}^p \frac{a_{ki} + b_{ki}}{2} \quad ; i \leq k \leq p$$

$$M_i = \frac{1}{p} \sum_{k=1}^p \frac{b_{ki} - a_{ki}}{2}$$

$$W_i = W_i (1 - M_i) / \sum_{i=1}^m (1 - M_i)$$

where m : total number of indicators

M_i : blind degree, the smaller the value, the greater the reliability is.

From the above formula, one gets the weight α_i of D_{ij} as:

$$\alpha_i = W_i / \sum_{i=1}^m W_i$$

This means that the synthetic development index not only highlights the interdependence of indicators but also the weights attached to the indicators by the various stakeholders. The determination of the weights is purely dependent upon the local conditions so that even for the same person the values of these weights may be different in different societal environments. The computation of assessment index in this manner takes a participative approach in the determination of weights so that the method can be utilized to closely monitor the developmental change in a particular culture or in a situation having homogenous parameters. Hence, this system determines the value of the assessment index based on the internal as well as information.

5. SEIA of Development Programme

To demonstrate the applicability as well as validity of the model, a real life implementation has been performed for assessing the impact of development assistance in seven study villages under DKDA where the developmental assistance has

been broadly categorized for horticulture, agriculture, livestock and small scale rural industries. For example, the assistance in agriculture ranges from high yielding varieties of seeds, fertilizers, pesticides, agricultural implements, etc. The environment for the utility of this assistance varied to a greater degree. Sometimes the beneficiary took full interest in utilizing the assistance, where as sometime either it was partly or even none. Depending upon the utility level, the benefit level also varied. Also, the beneficiaries showed varied interest in various schemes. This means that the benefit level also varied across the developmental schemes. For example, a landless household who had get assistance from livestock and rural industries heads could not be benefited to the effect of his counterparts under horticultural assistance. Also, if one analyses the quality as well as the quantity of output, it also varied to a greater effect as a result of which one will be able visualize the amount of contribution in a developmental scale for each of the programme.

Table - 2 presents the number of households in the study villages under the developmental assistance environment as well as the number of households actually benefited from this programmes. This shows that all the beneficiaries have not been benefited equally due to some reasons or other. Hence, one has to take benefited beneficiaries village-wise as each programme involves some schemes; e.g., a horticultural programme covers the assistance for plantations, viz., lemon, orange, banana, pineapple as well as assistance for fertilizers. Based on the number of expected and minimum number of benefited beneficiaries the values of the indicators for the said programmes have been computed and has been illustrated in table-3. The values of these indicators signify the benefit levels of the programmes based on the first-hand information from the beneficiaries. But, as has been already discussed, these values were not be sufficient to construct the composite assessment index and hence, the judgment of some external stakeholders, viz., Special Officer (DKDA), Welfare Extension Officer (WEO), Block Development Officer (BDO) and the researcher have been taken into account regarding assessment of the programmes in terms of contribution to overall development. This enabled to get a weighting pattern for the said schemes (table-4) which reflected the relative importance of one scheme over others in the framework of development. As per the underlying concept of the methodology, these weights when aggregated with the benefit indicator generated values in terms of the composite development index.

From table-5, it can be observed that the assessment regarding the status of development in the study villages due to the developmental assistance provided by DKDA goes parallel with the result of ex-facto evaluation for socio-economic development. The values of composite assessment index for the seven villages have been obtained by utilizing competitive-cum cum-compensatory aggregation operator. The value of this index is nothing but a synthetic information obtained by processing the information from the beneficiaries as well as the developmental experts based on an information model suitable for monitoring activities. There is a high correlation (about 99%) between ranks based on SEIA and SEC indices. This perfectly validates the SEIA model regarding socio-economic impact assessment of development projects in general and micro-projects in particular. These index values can be taken as the basis for further development assistance so that the inequality in the values of the index can be minimized in order to have a value within a small range. The concept is, smaller the range, greater is the homogeneity even if some development occurs in the society. In this way, the society as a whole develops in the process, instead of lopsided development breaking the cohesive force of a "simple society".

6. Conclusion

SEIA is a concept gaining popularity as a monitoring mechanism in the planned development process in order to study the effects of development efforts in the intermediate stages of the development process. In case of primitive tribes, it is very important in order to avoid the negative impacts and minimize disparities if at all multiple areas are covered under the programme. Models based on this aspect needs to be scientifically designed in order to incorporate the holistic view of development. Very often pure participative approach fails to see the global view of development as a result of which multi-perspective approach becomes more meaningful involving cultural approach at one end and global perspective at the other. But, implementing such approach becomes a difficult job as it involves both qualitative as well as quantitative attributes to be aggregated for a rational judgment. The present paper utilizes fuzzy logic to handle this issue in a scientific manner as has been used in various decision making processes in modern management. The knowledge management done in this model incorporated cultural and global dimensions of development towards sustainability of the development programme. This has been validated with the ex-facto evaluation results which highlighted the effectiveness of it which justifies the advantage of using modern management principles to handle development issues viewing them in a societal perspective. Hence, this model which is a knowledge engineering based monitoring system for socio-economic impact assessment of development programme for a primitive tribe can also be implemented in similar such situations and can be more meaningful in context with modern developmental management.

* *Professor, Xavier Labour Relations Institute, School of Business and Human Resources, Jamshedpur, Jharkhand-831035*

* * *Reader, Department of Anthropology, Utkal University, Bhubaneswar, Orissa-751004.*

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The authors are thankful to Prof.(Dr.)N.K Behura, former UGC Emeritus Fellow(Anthropology) for his valuable suggestions.

References:

- Batey, P.W.J., Madden, M. and Scholefield, G. 1993. Socio-economic Impact Assessment of Large-scale Projects using Input-output Analysis of an Airport. *Regional Studies: The Journal of Regional Studies Association* 27, 3:171-191.
- Mangaraj, B.K. and Upali Aparajita 2005. Culture-Specific Development of the Dongria Kondhs. In *Primitive Tribes in Contemporary India: Concept, Ethnography and Demography*, ed. SK Chaudhuri & SS Chaudhuri.259-284. New-Delhi: Mittal Publication.
- Mangaraj, B.K. and Upali Aparajita 2008. Multi-perspective Evaluation of Community Development Programmes: A Case Study for A Primitive Tribe of Orissa, *Journal of Social and Economic Development* 10, 1: 98-126.
- Ogunsumi, O., Samuel, O.E. and Adebisi, G.D. 2005. Socio-economic Impact Assessment of Maize Production Technology on Farmers' Welfare in South-west Nigeria. *Journal of Central European Agriculture* 16,1: 15-26.
- Sen, A.K. 1985. *Commodities and Capabilities*. Amsterdam: North Holland.
- Sen, A.K. 1987. *The Standard of Living*. U.K: Cambridge University Press.
- Shin, Kai-Chuan 1993. *Gray and Fuzzy System*, Taiwan: Ta-Tung Institute of Technology, Taipei.
- UNESCO Report 1995. *The Cultural Dimension of Development: Towards a Practical Approach*. Paris: UNESCO.
- Upali Aparajita 1996. Development and Culture among the Dongria Kondhs. In *Tribes in India-Ongoing Challenges*, ed. R.S. Mann, 367-374. New Delhi: MD Publication Pvt. Ltd.
- Upali Aparajita 2004. *Culture and Development: Dongrias of Niyamgiri*. New-Delhi: Inter-India Publications.
- Zadeh, L.A. 1965. Fuzzy Sets. *Information and Control* 8: 338-353.
- Zimmerman, H.J. and Zysno, P. 1980. Latent Connectives in Human Decision-Making, *Fuzzy Sets and System* 4: 37-5.

Table - 1: Demographic profile of Dongria villages under DKDA (2002)

Name of the Block	Name of the Gram Panchayat	Agency Villages	No. of Household	Male Population	Female Population	Total Population
Bisamkatak	Kurli	Khajuri	63	152	163	314
		Kurli	39	85	95	180
		Patalamba	21	35	47	82
		Radanga	41	82	101	183
		Kadraguma	24	60	67	127
		Bondili	29	55	90	145
		Khambesi	124	200	242	442

Table - 2: No. of beneficiaries (HH) as well as their number benefited from the schemes.

Schemes\Villages	Khajuri	Kurli	Khambesi	Kadraguma	Patalamba	Radanga	Bondili
	No. of Beneficiaries						
1. Horticulture (5)	51	35	111	18	13	31	24
2. Agriculture (6)	27	21	84	12	11	19	18
3. Livestock (2)	18	20	65	08	11	15	16
4. Small scale rural industries (3)	19	14	28	06	04	12	10
	No. of Beneficiaries Benefited						
1. Horticulture (5)	41	27	83	11	08	19	19
2. Agriculture (6)	22	16	61	07	07	11	15
3. Livestock (2)	14	14	46	05	06	10	12
4. Small scale rural industries (3)	07	05	11	02	02	05	04

Table - 3: Values of the benefit indicator.

Schemes\Villages	Khajuri	Kurli	Khambesi	Kadraguma	Patalamba	Radanga	Bondili
	Values of the Benefit Indicator						
1. Horticulture (5)	0.80	0.76	0.75	0.60	0.61	0.62	0.81
2. Agriculture (6)	0.83	0.74	0.73	0.57	0.63	0.60	0.84
3. Livestock (2)	0.78	0.70	0.70	0.63	0.58	0.64	0.76
4. Small scale rural industries (3)	0.38	0.36	0.38	0.35	0.38	0.40	0.43

Table - 4: Computation of weights for various schemes.

Schemes/Ex. Stakeholders	E ₁		E ₂		E ₃		E ₄	
	Min (a _{1i})	Max (b _{1i})	Min (a _{2i})	Max (b _{2i})	Min (a _{3i})	Max (b _{3i})	Min (a _{4i})	Max (b _{4i})
1. Horticulture (5)	0.4	0.45	0.38	0.42	0.35	0.5	0.5	0.6
2. Agriculture (6)	0.3	0.35	0.33	0.36	0.25	0.3	0.3	0.35
3. Livestock (2)	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.25	0.1	0.1	0.05	0.15
4. Small scale rural industries (3)	0.1	0.1	0.05	0.15	0.1	0.2	0.05	0.1

Schemes	W ₁	M _{1i}	W _i	ρ _i
1. Horticulture (5)	0.45	0.0425	0.112	0.45
2. Agriculture (6)	0.31	0.0225	0.079	0.32
3. Livestock (2)	0.13	0.438	0.031	0.12
4. Small scale rural industries (3)	0.11	0.0313	0.028	0.11

Table - 5: Socio-economic impact vs. Socio-economic development

Villages	SEIA index	Rank based on SEIA index	Per-capita income in Rs.	Percentage of literacy (Up to 14 years)	Per-capita income index	Literacy index (Up to 14 years)	Socio-economic composite (SEC) index	Rank based on SEC index
Khajuri	0.80	2	2686.3	14	0.62	1.0	0.81	2
Kurli	0.76	3	2980.55	10	0.88	0.68	0.78	3
Khambesi	0.74	4	2755.09	8.14	0.68	0.53	0.61	4
Kadraguma	0.59	7	1988.58	6.29	0.0	0.39	0.2	5
Patalamba	0.61	6	2079.26	2.4	0.08	0.08	0.08	6
Radanga	0.62	5	2082.51	1.45	0.083	0.0	0.04	7
Bonditi	0.81	1	3120.00	12.4	1.0	0.87	0.94	1

TRIBES OF PRESENT DAY KORAPUT

K.C. Panigrahy •

The concept of 'Tribe' induced to Koraput in the year 1917 by the Government of Madras Presidency under the 'Agency Tracts Interest and Land transfer Act, 1917'. The Act came into force precisely on August 14, 1917 and the whole population of Koraput was termed as the 'Hill Tribes'. The definition of the 'Hill Tribe' was:

"Anybody or class of persons residing in the agency tracts; (ie. whole undivided Koraput district & agency tracts of present Gajapati, Kandhamal and Ganjam districts of Orissa) not being a Land Holder (ie. Maharaja of Jeypore Zamindari) that may be notified for the purpose of the Act by the Government."

In independent India the 'Hill Tribes' of Koraput were divided into three categories i.e. *Scheduled Tribes*, *Scheduled Castes* and *Other Backward Classes* under the Constitution Order of 1950. It seems the experts and the theoreticians have divided the whole population of Koraput artificially without designing the scientific parameter. It also seems that the State designed the so-called developmental Projects/ Schemes to make the whole populace of the Hill Tribes as the second rate carbon copy of ourselves which Pandit Nehru feared years back.

The layman's image of tribe (after he got exposure to Koraput region for some time) is that of a small group of people living in seclusion, accustomed to carefree and hand to mouth existence without any idea of saving for the rainy day and traditionally unmindful of the intricacies of modern life unless and until their traditional customs and taboos, mores and ethos and way of life are tampered with. This concept of tribal life and culture is a figment of the imagination of the age-old relations existing between tribals and their nontribal neighbours; a myth rather than an empirical truth.

Today tribals very rarely live in total isolation anywhere in the world. They are caught between conventional and current cultural changes that are sweeping the world. The degree of percolation of socio-economic process is mainly conditioned by the nature of communication and transport facilities available in Koraput region. With the rapid strides made by Community and Tribal Development Projects and Programmes ultimately led to creation of new economic opportunities and a shift in the ageold cultural standards and value-attitude systems of the people of this region.

Early Europeans knew this region as 'Jeypore country'. When the Madras Government, first took over the direct administration of the Jeypore estate in 1863, road communication was in a primitive condition. They opened the area by taking up road constructions. A bare valley between two ranges of hills was selected and the British administrative headquarters was shifted from 'Jeypore' to 'Koraput' in the year 1870. Roads, as is understood at present, were non-existent prior to 1863. Lieutenant Smith, the first Assistant Agent posted at Jeypore traveled to Jeypore by horse and bullock cart. In the year 1885, Mr. H.G. Turner, the then Agent took up the task, of completing the road from Jeypore to Vizagpattam via Padwa, Anantagiri Ghats (now called Aruku valley) which was commenced in the year 1863 and was known as Turner's Ghat. The present Salur-Jeypore road was first begun in 1866 and it was only in 1874, for the first time, that carts from Salur could cross the Ghat (with difficulty) and were

able to reach Jeypore. Railway extension from Paralakhemundi (Narrow gauge) to Gunupur was opened in 1931. The Raipur - Vizianagarm Railway line (Broad gauge) was opened in 1932. Dandakaranya Project started in 1958 in this region. The present Koraput Railway line; earlier known as the DBK (Dandakaranya Bailadida Kiribur) Railway line (broad gauge) is passing through 'Koraput' town and 'Jagdalpur' then from Visakhapatnam (AP) and it was undertaken in 1962 and completed in the year 1967 connecting Bailadilla mines in Chhatisgarh to Visakhapatnam of Andhra Pradesh. Koraput town was connected to Rayagada by rail in the year 1991 to carry alumina from NALCO. It seems, all these roads and Railway lines were taken up only to facilitate the Government through their agents to transport Forest Product, Minerals, generated electric energy and to rehabilitate the Bengali displaced persons under the cloak of Koraput area development.

Prior to Dandakaranya Project, i.e., till 1958 there were a handful of officials and traders who were the only agents of plains culture, used to tickle down the precarious ghat roads and bridle paths. The introduction of community development programme and the Railway lines opened a new chapter in the lives of the tribals of this region. For the first time, the tribals tasted the fruits of directed change in the form of inter village fair-weather roads, improved agricultural implements, seeds, wells for drinking water etc. The laying of pucca maxphalted roads and Railway lines facilitated for more extensive cultural contacts. Tribals are no more encompassed in the idyllic surroundings of a shangrila having harmonious and undisturbed relation with the nature. Slowly the tribes began to incorporate certain material traits of plain people into their life styles.

The indifferent developmental projects/ schemes in tribal areas, designed by babus started upsetting the apple-cart of existing social system resulting in violation of tribal endogamy and family disorganisation. Gambling, prostitution, cheating, pick pocketing etc have also made their appearance amongst the tribes. Previously such violations of traditional norms used to be severely dealt with by the tribal council by excommunicating the offenders and heaping all sorts of insults on them in order to make life unbearable for the culprit and his family in the society through ostracism. Now-a-days such cases just end up with mild contemptuous remarks. Coffee and tea slowly replaced the traditional nutritious ragi gruel. Drinking illicit toxic liquor is also on the increase whereas they depended on healthy home brewing substances. Increased monetary transactions due to payment of wages in cash and the immoral activities of non-tribal workers served as catalysts in accelerating the process of social degeneration. The developmental schemes and programmes engineered for development of this region made them conscious of new opportunities and ways of life and at the same time subjected them to sacrifice their traditional institutions with great stress and strain. The balance sheet of Socio-Cultural and Economic gains or losses can be summarised as follows :

The Positive aspects of change are:

- (a) Tribes who acquired skills during the execution of developmental schemes and programmes got employment in urban areas as skilled or unskilled labourers and yet up rooted from their family or home anchors.
- (b) Some persons among the tribes have been motivated to strive for modern ways of life based on improved technology and have been able to stabilise their position, at the cost of neglecting their traditional value systems.

On the Negative side are:

- (a) The programmes and the schemes have been like a capricious lover of the tribals, giving bountiful gifts for sometime and then deserting them with complete unconcern when the purpose is served.
- (b) The tribes who worked as casual labourers during the continuation of the programmes or schemes were left high and dry. The traditional sources of livelihood no longer satisfies the need and at the same time the new hope which sustained them for sometime has disappeared like a mirage.
- (c) The most hard hit of all in the process has been the younger generation. A good number of them could successfully challenge the traditional authority structure of the society, because of the economic opportunities provided by the schemes.
- (d) The final result was - the younger generation unthinkingly discarded the traditions of the old. After a certain period the trauma of a guilty complex on one hand and a superiority or inferiority complex of merely - 'being used' on the altar on the other hand goaded by these two complexes, compelled them seek escape in alcoholism, gambling etc. and other social vices.
- (e) In this milieu, when the economic motive is added, the slippery slope of degeneration easily takes them to the practice of cheating, pick-pocketing and other delinquent behaviour without any compunction.
- (f) The same set of factors has also played an important role in creating a fertile ground for converting them into political iconoclasts of a sort to flourish in the area.
- (g) Over and above these, the traditional social restrictions in sex life were subjected to great strain due to the monetary and other allurements available during the execution of the Project.

Taking an overall view, one cannot help feeling that the balance is heavily loaded on the negative side. But here a question arises, whether this negative balance is just another confirmation of the classical view of the harmful effects of contact between people of different levels of culture and technology or whether it is the result of inadequate planning and incomplete approach to the problem of (by the forcible induction of) development.

Further, establishment of industries for betterment of the people of this region seems to have been dealt with more as a territorial nexus than as an additional resource base. Its main purpose was to extract and exploit natural resource at one end and export for marketing at the other, but the human situation seems to have been considered more in terms of instrumental value than end value.

Now the tribal consciousness in relation to its own tradition and history and in relation to outsiders is taking shape as an important part of the subaltern consciousness of the region. The tribals of Koraput region during the last four and a half decades have gone through the trauma of various domineering forces in the name of progress and development.

First, they were the targets of the 'missionary solution' which detribalised their rituals, customs and morals; it was followed by a vigorous reaction of the forces promoting Hindu institutions, disturbing their indigenous ethos. Second, the British rulers followed the policy of segregation under the garb of 'protection' and 'Excluded' and 'Partially Excluded' areas; tribals were linked with primitiveness, and the task of defining their direction of change was delegated to colonial administrators, guided by the theory of 'isolation'. Third, the Indian Government after the Independence, charged with the sentiments of 'national integration', enshrined guarantees in the Constitution for the economic, socio-cultural and educational upliftment of Scheduled Tribes.

When the norms and values of one culture dominate the other (through subjugation, colonisation, acculturation and assimilation or in the name of development) these can generate dissonance between the two or result in the indistinguishable assimilation of one culture, weaker in demographic or economic terms, with the other. Feelings of resentment against outsiders and virtual rejection of the outsiders among a section of tribals indicate their uncertainty and a sense of helplessness, about their future.

Expressing ideals of the pluralistic heritage of India, a statesman of 1950's has pronounced as follows :

"Every flower has the right to grow according to its own laws of growth; ... to spread its own fragrance, to make up the cumulative beauty and splendour of the garden. I would not like to change my roses into lilies nor my lilies into roses. Nor do I want to sacrifice my lovely orchids or rhododendrons of the hills:"

In the words of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: "there is no point in trying to make them a second rate carbon copy of ourselves."

Until quite recently, the expectation has been that in the march of progress the tribal form would gradually weaken and give way to more advanced modern form of social cohesion. The sheer persistence and resilience of tribal identities in India raises certain issues of immense significance:

- (a) Should the conceptual ground upon which the prevalent categorisation and understanding of the nature of the tribal identity is predicated be re-examined? (It would indeed be an exceedingly difficult proposition for anyone to state that all the varied communities listed as tribes in the schedules fully conform to the notion of a tribal community in its classical sense)
- (b) What constitutes the distinctive substance in the historical texture of relationships and sensibilities, in relation to tribal identity in India?
- (c) What is the nature of reassertion of tribal identity in the modern context ? - And -
- (d) What kind of possibilities does this reassertion make available for a serious reconsideration of the problem of ecology and human survival, as also the nature and role of the modern state and modern development ?

Meaningful consideration of these questions requires reappraisal of the awful grim details that touch upon the part and present of the struggle for livelihood and survival of tribal cohesions.

Such reappraisal would perhaps help, classify the cultural and institutional possibilities that could in some measure modulate the suicidal edge inherent in the modern predicament (Sharma : 1994).

In this scenario we may like to note that the political leadership in tribal areas has been a victim of the party system. When the tribal representatives get elected, they are quickly submerged in the main concern of the political party to which they belong; and in these, there is at best a nominal place for the tribal issues or else they become back-numbers in the modern world. *

References

1. *The DBK Railway Project : Dr. Pratap : 1970*
2. *Tribal Identity : Lachman M. Khubchandani : 1972*
3. *Tribal Identity & Modern World : Suresh Sharma : 1994.*

Taken form the FINAL REPORT ON THE MAJOR SETTLEMENT OPERATION IN KORAPUT DISTRICT: 1938-641 (Published at the Orissa Government Press dated 19-3-1966)

Koraput was declared as Scheduled district as defined in Acts XIV and XV 1874. The above Acts are applicable to the Agency tracts of Ganjam and Vizagpattnam district of the Madras Presidency and Koraput was in Vizagpattam district. The Acts came into force on 14 August, 1917 and the entire population of Koraput was declared as the Hill-Tribes. Hill-tribe as defined in the Agency tracts interest and land transfer Act means:

"Any body or class or persons resident in the Agency tracts (not being a Land -holder under Madras Estates Land Act ie. the Maharaja of Jeypore) that may from time to time be notified as such for the purpose of the Act by the State Government)"

The original notification of the Government of Madras defining hill-tribes was issued in notification No 79-Home (Judicial) dated the 25th January 1918. The complete list is given below. In the Constitution of India, 1950 order the Hill-tribes were divided into Scheduled Tribes, Scheduled Castes and Other Backward Classes.

It seems, the experts and the theoreticians have divided the whole population of Koraput region artificially without having any scientific parameter. Now, it seems ethical to design developmental activities in Koraput region keeping in view the above said artificial divisions. Thus the then Government of India's Premier Organisation, the Anthropological Survey of India says:

"Any discussion of tribes in India has to proceed from the assumption that a tribe is an administrative and political concept in India"

(The Scheduled Tribes: K S Singh, Oxford University Press : 1974)"

LIST OF HILL TRIBES OF KORAPUT

Sl. No.	Names of castes notified as hill-tribes or Scheduled Tribes (with sub-castes)	Period or periods when they were treated as hill-tribes or Scheduled Tribes
1	2	3
1.	Bagata	25-1-1918 to 28-2-1927 4-7-1927 to up to date
2.	Bhottadas- Bodo Bhottada Muria Bhottada Sano Bhottada	1-3-1927 to 5-9-1950 25-9-1956 to up to date
3.	Bhumias Bhuri Bhumia Bodo Bhumia	1-3-1927 to 5-9-1950 25.9.1956 to up to date
4.	Barangi Jodia Bissoy Binangi Bissoy Daduva Bissoy Frangi Bissoy Hollar Bissoy Jhoriya Bissoy Kollai Bissoy Kondi Bissoy Paranga Bissoy Panga Jodia Bissoy Sodo Jodia Bissoy Takoda Bissoy	18.6.1931 to 5.9.1950
5.	Bato Gaudas	18.6.1931 to 5.9.1950
6.	Bhiritiya Gaudas	18.6.1931 to 5.9.1950
7.	Baiga	6.9.1950 to up to date
8.	Banjara or Banjari	6.9.1950 to up to date
9.	Bathudi	6.9.1950 to up to date
10.	Bhuya or Bhuya	6.9.1950 to up to date
11.	Binjal	6.9.1950 to up to date.
12.	Binjhia or Binjhoa	6.9.1950 to up to date
13.	Birhor	6.9.1950 to up to date
14.	Bhumij	25.9.1956 to up to date
15.	Bhunjia	25.9.1956 to up to date
16.	Chenchu	6.9.1950 to up to date
17.	Domb Adhinia Dombs Chandal Dombs Christian Dombs Mirgani Dombs Oriya Dombs Ponaka Dombs Telega Dombs Umania Dombs	25.1.1918 to 28.2.1927 4.7.1927 to 13.1.1943
18.	Dhakkada	18.6.1931 to 5.9.1950
19.	Dudhokouria Gaudas	6.1931 to 5.9.1950
20.	Dal	6.9.1950 to up to date
21.	Desua Bhumij	25.9.1956 to up to date
22.	Dharua	25.9.1956 to up to date
23.	Didayi	25.9.1956 to up to date
24.	Ghasis Bodo Ghasi Sano Ghasi	25.1.1918 to 28.2.1927 4.7.1927 to 5.9.1950
25.	Gonds Madya Gond Rajo Gond	25.1.1918 to 28.2.1927 4.7.1927 to up to date
26.	Gadaba- Bodo Gadaba Cerllam Gadaba Franji Gadaba Jodia Gadaba Olaro Gadaba Pangi Gadaba Paranga Gadaba	25.1.1918 to up to date
27.	Ghara	6.9.1950 to up to date
28.	Gorait or Korait	6.9.1950 to 25.9.1956
29.	Gandia	25.9.1956 to up to date
30.	Ho	6.9.1950 to up to date
31.	Hato Gaudas	18.6.1931 to 5.9.1950
32.	Holva	18.6.1931 to 5.9.1950 25.9.1956 to up to date
33.	Juang	6.9.1950 to up to date
34.	Jadapus	25.1.1918 to 28.2.1927 4.7.1927 to 5.9.1950
35.	Jatapus	23.7.1918 to 28.2.1927
36.	Jatako Gaudas	4.7.1927 to up to date
37.	Juria Gaudas	18.6.1931 to 5.9.1950 18.6.1931 to 5.9.1950
38.	Kosalya Gaudas- Bisothoriya Gaudas Chhiti Gaudas Dnagayat Gaudas Dodukomariya Gaudas Dudu kamoro Gaudas Ladiya Gaudas Pullosoriya Gaudas	1.3.1927 to 5.9.1950
39.	Khatis Khati Kommar Lohara	1.3.1927 to 5.9.1959
40.	Kodu	25.1.1918 to 28.2.1927
41.	Konda Dora	4.7.1927 to 5.9.1950
42.	Konda Dora	25.1.1918 to 28.2.1927 4.7.1927 to up to date 25.1.1918 to up to date
43.	Kandhas- Desaya Kondh Dangaria Koridh- Kotla Kondh Tikiria Kondh Yenity Kondh Nanguli Kondh Sitha Kondh	25.1.1918 to up to date

44.	Kotia- Bartika Bentho Oriya Dulia or Dhulia Holva Paik Putiya Sanorana Sidho Paika	25.1.1918 to 28.2.1927 4.7.1927 to 5.9.1950 25.9.1956 to up to date
45.	Koyas	25.1.1918 to 28.2.1927 4.7.1927 to up to date
46.	Kawar	6.9.1950 to up to date
47.	Kharia or Kharia	6.9.1950 to up to date
48.	Kharwar	6.9.1950 to up to date
49.	Kisan	6.9.1950 to up to date
50.	Kolan-kol-loharas	6.9.1950 to up to date
51.	Kolan-kol-loharas	6.9.1950 to up to date
52.	Kolha	6.9.1950 to up to date
53.	Koli including Malhar	6.9.1950 to up to date
54.	Kora	6.9.1950 to up to date
55.	Korua	6.9.1950 to up to date
56.	Kulia	6.9.1950 to 24.9.1956
57.	Kandha Gauda	25.9.1956 to up to date
58.	Kol	25.9.1956 to up to date
59.	Kulis	25.9.1956 to up to date
60.	Lodhai	25.9.1956 to up to date
61.	Malas or Agency Malas or Valmiles;	25.1.1918 to 28.2.1927 4.7.1927 to 5.9.1950
62.	Malis- Korchia Malis Paiko Mails Pedda Mates	18.6.1931 to 5.9.1950
63.	Maune	25.1.1918 to 28.2.1927 4.7.1927 to 5.9.1950
64.	Manna Dora	25.1.1918 to 28.2.1927 4.7.1927 to 5.9.1950
65.	Mukha Dora or Nooka Dora	25.1.1918 to 28.2.1927 4.7.1927 to 5.9.1950
66.	Muli or Mulia	25.1.1918 to 28.2.1927 4.7.1927 to 5.9.1950
67.	Mum	18.6.1931 to 5.9.1950
68.	Mahali	6.9.1950 to up to date
69.	Mankidi	6.9.1950 to up to date
70.	Mandirdia	6.9.1950 to up to date
71.	Mirdhas	6.9.1950 to up to date
72.	Manda- Munda Lohara Munda Mohalia	6.9.1950 to up to date
73.	Mundari	6.9.1950 to up to date

74.	Madia	25.9.1956 to up to date
75.	Matya	25.9.1956 to up to date
76.	Magatha Gaudas- Bennia Gaudas Bodo Magatha Dangayat Gaud Ladya Gauda Ponna Magatha Sana Magatha	25.1.1918 to 28.2.1927 18.6.1931 to 5.9.1950
77.	Magatha Gaudas	4.7.1927 to 7.6.1931
78.	Ojulas or Metta Kansalis	25.1.1918 to 28.2.1927 4.7.1927 to 5.9.1950
79.	Omanaito	18.6.1931 to 5.9.1950
80.	Oraon	6.9.1950 to up to date
81.	Ormanatya	25.9.1956 to up to date
82.	Paigarapu	25.1.1918 to 28.2.1927 4.7.1927 to 5.9.1950
83.	Palasi	25.1.1918 to 28.2.1927 4.7.1927 to 5.9.1950
84.	Palli	25.1.1918 to 28.2.1927 4.7.1927 to 5.9.1950
85.	Pentias	1.3.1927 to 5.9.1950
86.	Pydi	25.1.1928 to 28.2.1927 4.7.1927 to 5.9.1950
87.	Parenga	25.9.1956 to up to date
88.	Paraja- Bodo Paraja Bonda Paraja Daruva Paraja Jodia Paraja Mundili Paraja Pengu Paraja Salya Paraja	25.1.1918 to up to date
89.	Reddi Doras	25.1.1918 to 28.2.1927 4.7.1927 to 5.9.1950
90.	Relli or Sachandi	25.1.1918 to 28.2.1927 4.7.1927 to 5.9.1950
91.	Rajuar	25.9.1956 to up to date
92.	Ronas	18.6.1931 to 5.9.1950
93.	Savaras- Kapu Savaras Khuttu Savaras Muliya Savaras	25.1.1918 to up to date
94.	Seerithi Ghudas	18.6.1931 to 5.9.1950
95.	Santal	6.9.1950 to up to date
96.	Sfiabar or Lodha	25.9.1956 to up to date
97.	Saunti	25.9.1956 to up to date
98.	Therua	6.9.1950 to up to date

entrusted with the responsibility of administering the territory and suppressing the custom of human sacrifice and female infanticide could stamp out such detestable superstitions by non-violent means to a larger extent with the least application of force. But under certain compelling circumstances, force had to be applied. Then Kandha being a bold mountainous folk rose in revolt against administration and there were several encounters between the troops and the rebel tribals. Finally the situation was brought under control. To supplement the measures taken by the British Government, the Maharaja of Jeypore Zamindari to which the Kandha of Koraput belonged, introduced a new festival called, *Jura-parab* during the festival of *Meria* (human) sacrifice. This measure succeeded largely in replacing the human beings with the buffaloes for sacrifice during the festival.

After the human sacrifice stopped, the human being was replaced by a buffalo and with it the name of the festival changed from *Meria* to *Kedu*. But other items of the rite such as the duration of the festivities, the solemnity with which the rite was being observed and the joyous congregation of people remained as before.

Thus tribe became known to the administrative as-well as academic world for its superstitious beliefs and practices. But the thorns and thickets of the wilderness and the unhealthy climate of the Kandha country which was notorious for malaria deterred free access to the area and getting first hand knowledge about the tribe. However, with passage of time and development of road communication entry into the area and contact with the tribe became possible. In those days scholars like Dalton, Risley, Thurston, Russell and Hiralal have left behind a few pages of ethnographic accounts about the tribe in their published works. Later many books, articles and notes on the tribe have come up in the census reports and research journals.

Population & Distribution

Numerically, the Kandha constitute the largest tribe among the tribes of Orissa. In this regard it is not only a major tribe of Orissa state but also one of the major tribes of the country. According to the Census of 2001 the total population of the Kandha is 13 95 643 (6 88 402 males and 7 07 241 females). Though their population is unevenly spread throughout the State, their main concentration is in southern Orissa. Geographically, their stronghold lies in the central region (Boud-Kandhamal district), Rayagada region (Rayagada district) and south-western part (erstwhile Kasipur and Mahulpatna areas) of Eastern Ghats Region.

The decadal growth rate of Kandha population between 1991 and 2001 is 22.38 percent. In 2001, their sex ratio is 1027 females per 1000 males and their level of literacy, 31.87 percent as against 37.37 percent and 63.08 percent of that of the State's total tribal population and total population respectively.

The Kandha Country:

In the recent past, i.e. in British India, the country of the Kandhas was situated in the region northwards, terminating on the edge of the valley of the Mahanadi and turning due east widens out into a large elevated plateau that slopes down to the plains of Ganjam on the south-east, and more abruptly to the valley of the Mahanandi in the Boud State on the north. Geographically this traditional Kandha country called Kandhamals is not homogeneous. The western part of the Kandhamals, which is the

loftiest portion of the plateau, is intersected in all directions by the numerous lateral ramifications of the Ghats which break up the surface of the country into small depressions of comparatively small fertility. The eastern half of the Kandhamals contain larger and more open and fertile valleys. The ethnographical features of this Kandha country were in keeping with its geographical variations. The western portions of the Kandhamals were inhabited by the wilder and more primitive groups who, with the exception of a few headmen, who speak no language but their own, and whose women went about with only a piece of cloth round the lions, leaving the breast uncovered.

Nomenclature:

The nomenclature of the tribe as recorded by the ethnographers, historians, British officers as well in several literatures, the govt records and the ST list of Orissa is KOND, KHOND, KONDH, KANDHA etc. These are the names the non tribal people have given them.

Their non tribal neighbours called them KANDHA, probably because they are hill dwellers and as such, they live on roots and tubers they collect from the hills and jungles. In Telugu the hill is termed 'KONDA' and the Oriya word meaning roots and tubers is 'KANDA'. Though the origin of the name KANDHA is still obscure, it might have originated from KONDA or KANDA. But the foreign and Indian officers and writers have spelled the name as KOND, KHOND, KONDH.

"The Kandha tribe is variously known. They are called the Khond or the Kandha or the Kond, according to the usage of the term in vogue in different places in which they live. But whatever be the terminology used, it refers to the same tribe. The people of that class call themselves the Kandha as a result of their contact with the Oriyas...This nomenclature is believed to have come from the Telugu language in which the word 'Konda' means a small hill as well as the hill-men. The territory in which the Kandha reside in large concentration is called, the Kandhamal, 'mal' in Oriya signifying a hill tract. The other name of Phulbani district is Boud-Kandhamal, and the northern portion of the Ganjam district, which adjoins the Kandhamal, is called, the Kandha Maliah, meaning the hill tract inhabited by the Kandha." (Patnaik et al, 2006)

According to Thurston (1908) "The Telugu people call them Kotuvandlu. The origin of the name Khond is doubtful, but Macpherson is, I think, right in deriving it from Telugu 'Konda', a hill. There is a tribe in Vizagapatam called Konda Dora or Konda Kapu, and these people are also frequently called Kotuvandlu. All these names are derivatives of the root Ko and Ku, a mountain."

Famous British Linguist, G.A. Grierson wrote, "The tribe is commonly known under the name of Khond. The Oriyas call them 'Kandhs' and the Telugu people, 'Gonds' or 'Kods'. The name which they use themselves is 'Ku' and their language should accordingly be denominated as 'Kui'."

In course of time, though the tribesmen have accepted the name KOND, KHOND, KONDH, KANDHA as bestowed upon them by the non KANDHAS, they identify themselves as KUI, KUI ENJU, KUI LOKU or KUI LOK.

T.J. Maltby (Madras Civil Service) reported in *The Ganjam District Manual* (1882) & (rpt. Ed. G.D. Leman, 1918) that in origin the name of Kond in Telgu was 'Kodu Vandulu', in Oriya 'KONDHO LOKO' and the Khonds call themselves 'Kui' in plural 'Kuinga'.

Rise1y (1891) wrote "The Kondhs call themselves as 'Kui loka' or 'Kui-enju'. The synonyms of the Kandh are Kondh, Khond, Kui loka, _Kui-enju.

Russel & Lal (1916) opined "The tribe call themselves *Kui loku* or *Kui enju* which may possibly be derived from *Ko* or *Ku*, a Telugu word for a mountain."

"*Kuinga* or *Kuinga* are the words Konds use to refer to themselves. 'Kond' is an anglicized form of the Oriya name for them- *Kondo*, *Khondo*, *Kondho* or *Kandha* which Konds also often used. 19th Century sources mostly call them *Khonds* or *Kondhs*." (Padel, 2000)

"The people who speak the Kui language are generally known as Konds, Khonds or Kandhs, though they call themselves *Kuinga*." (Winfield, 1928)

"The tribe call themselves *Kui loka* or *Kui enju*. *Kui* is a Kondh word meaning above. The tribal name (Kondh/Kui) therefore signifies the people of the highlands." (Mukherjee, 1964)

In a literature of the British period it has been reported "The Kandhas, however, always speak of themselves as *Kui Loku*, i.e. the *Kui* speaking people, and of their language as the *Kui Kata* i.e. the *Kui* language. The name *Kandha* is said to be given to them and their language by their neighbours. *Kui* is a *Kandha* word meaning above or aloft; the tribal name therefore, literally means the lofty or lordly people - the superior race or the masters of the high country."

The Kandhas have a great many family titles suffixed to their names of which the most common are *Malika*, *Kahanra*, *Padhan*, *Majhi*, *Naika* and *Ghatal*; besides these, the names *Jhankar* (from *Jakeri*), *Jani*, *Dehuri* and *Bahauk* are applied to those who perform priestly functions or assist at rituals and sacrifices. *Malika*, *Kahanra*, *Jhankar* and *Jani* are purely *Kandha* titles, and the rest appear to have been borrowed from outsiders. *Padhan* is a common title of the *Sundis*, while *Majhi*, *Naika* and *Dehuri* are found in the *Sudha* caste, while *Majhi*, *Naika* and *Dehuri* are found in the *Sudha* caste, and *Bahauk* among the *Kewats*. The majority of the people bear the names of title of the older settler, while *Kahanra* is said to be a corruption of *Kagari*, meaning in *Jimdars*, a title said to have been conferred upon their ancestors by the *Raja of Boud*. *Jimdar* is a corruption of *zamidar*, which is these part means simply a land owning cultivator. The cultivators being a respectable class of people, it was though the new name would put the *Kandhas* on equality with the local *Oriyas* and ensure better treatment for them.

Language

The *Kandha* speak a language of their own. It is a *Dravidian* language which has two regional variations such as '*Kuvi*' spoken by a majority of the *Kandha* of undivided *Koraput*, *Kalahandi* and *Bolangir* districts and '*Kui*', spoken by the *Kandha* who live in the *Phulbani* (*Kandhmal*) district. *Kuvi* appears to have original structural composition while *Kui*, an acculturated and transformed form of *Kuvi* language. Besides the *Kandha* *Jatapu Dora* and *Konda Dora* who have close affinity with the *Kandha* also speak *Kuvi* with a little admixture of *Telugu*.

Origin of the Tribe:

No reliable information regarding the origin of the tribe is available. Some say that they came from the Central Provinces. Others state that they were driven back from the plains of the Ganjam district, and so account for the similarity between their language and Telegu. According to an early ethnographer Mr. Friend Pereira, there is vague tradition that they were driven away by a stronger race from the tract that constitutes the modern Gaya district in northern India and gradually found their way through Chota Nagpur and the Gondwana to the hills that form their present home. The old men of the tribe relate a story that they formerly lived at a place called Srambuli Dimbuli adjoining a high range of hills named Derhsaru somewhere in Ganjam or the Central Provinces. Pushed back from the fertile lands below, they at last summoned up courage to climb the hills, which has hitherto appeared to them to be the end of the world, and saw before them far away in the distance a large tract of apparently uninhabited jungle country. They were not slow in making up their minds to occupy the area. They promptly scaled the hills, and driving before them the less warlike inhabitants of the country, took possession of the Kandhamals and the surrounding tracts. It is evident that they migrated in large numbers, for they very soon completely ousted the former occupants, who now exist in scattered hamlets in Daspalla and other neighbouring areas, while not of them one is to be seen within the Kandhamals, the stronghold of the Kandhas. These people, who are known as the Kurmus, are a scattered race given to cultivation and other peaceful employments, and some say that it was from them that the Kandhas learnt to till the soil. One story has it that the Kurmus gave up their holdings peaceably to the Kandhas and disappeared from the country by ascending into the clouds. They are remembered with feelings of gratitude and reverence by the Kandhas, who claim them as elder brothers, calling them the first-born, and themselves the youngest born of Jamo Penu, the Creator, and invoke their blessing at the annual sacrifices. The Kurmus are known to have smoked tobacco or hemp out of small earthen *hookahs* and to have used steel axes like the Kandhas; these axes are sometimes turned up by the plough at old village sites.

Tribal organization:

The Kandhas are divided into a number of exogamous divisions having a common ancestor occupying distinct locations. Each of these local divisions is called a *mutha*, and has a separate name and a separate head. In some cases the members of one sept have spread themselves over two or more *muthas* and intermarriage is prohibited within the whole group, though in other respects the people consider themselves to be quite distinct from one another. On the other hand, people of different families who happen to settle in different villages within the same *mutha* freely intermarry with their neighbours. One such *mutha* (Aragirkia) containing 12 different families is to be found in the Kandhamals; and groups of as many as 18 and 11 *muthas* are known, e.g. the Athara Mutha Kandhas of Ganjam and the Egara Mutha Kandhas of the Kandhamals.

The Kandhas do not usually speak of their *mutha* but of their *klambu*, *gassi* or *gassi-bida* (literally, their lineage), which is an abbreviated form of the name of the founder of the sept. The word *gando* (body) suffixed to the founder's name gives the full name of the sept and *mutha*. Mendi is another suffix, meaning a ram, which has been applied in ridicule to those Kandhas who fled, in a battle with the Hadgarh people, with their arms shouldered, like the horns of a ram, which are curved backwards.

There are also three functional groups - the Kumhars or potters (Kumarenga), the Lohars or blacksmiths (Tezinaru) and the Gauras or cowherds (Gatianga), who, though Kandhas by descent are held to have sunk in the social scale for having departed from the Kandhas' hereditary occupations of cultivation and hunting to other kinds of vocations which are considered menial. Among these three groups, the Kumhar has the highest position, for he is permitted to join in the village feasts, while the other two are debarred from all intercourse whatever, though they are not considered unclean like the Pans and Haris (Domenga and Gahenga). The latter are debarred from drawing water from the village well, and must live apart in a settlement of their own at a little distance from the main village. This is not the case in the Ganjam Malias, where the Pans and Kandhas live side by side. In a great part of the Kandhamals, the Pan's presence or touch is not considered polluting and he may enter a house or touch a Kandha without committing offence.

Among the Kandhas themselves, there are no prohibitions regarding social intercourse and eating and drinking together, but as a result of their intercourse with the non-Kandhas, a gradual change is now observable in the abandonment of certain old customs and the acquisition of new ones quite foreign to the tribe. In the eastern localities, where there has been a large influx of foreigners, the Kandhas abstain from beef and pork, wear imported cloths discarding coarse home-made stuffs, crop their hair and in addition to their Kandha oaths, swear on and read the Haribansa Pothi or Hindu religious books; while the women have given up tattooing their faces and abstain from liquor. These are the people who call themselves Jimdars. Many of them have forgotten their language and others make pretence of not knowing it. Oriya has, in fact, ousted Kui as their mother tongue. They have formed themselves into a caste, and look with great aversion on the Pans and Haris, going so far as to say that their touch and shadow are contaminating. They are now known to their more barbarous kinsmen as Sassi Kandhas (Sassi from *salba*, to go or depart, meaning foreigner), or Bagra (mixed), while those who still observe their ancestral customs are called Aria Kandhas. Intercourse with these aborigines has similarly left its mark upon the Oriya settlers, for buffaloes are freely offered and slain at their annual sacrifices; wild pigs are caught and reared for their marriage feasts, and *sambar* and fowls are eaten without loss of caste. The Boud Kandhas seek their wives only from among the Sassi Kandhas and not from the Arias, with whom they have ceased to have any social intercourse. The Sassis of the Kandhamals prefer to get wives from Sassi families, but do not go so far as to deny hospitality to their Aria brethren.

Marriage with any of the functional groups is forbidden, and intercourse with them is looked upon as discreditable, although it does not entail excommunication from the tribe. All the members of the tribe are considered equal and one sept is as good as another. Their pride forbids them acknowledging a better or having any intercourse with an inferior, with the result that no section considers itself too good to take a wife from another or imagines it to be an act of condescension to give a girl in return. Marriages with outsiders are never heard of, though there have been cases of members of the tribe consenting to live with foreigners. Any intercourse with members of an unclean caste entails perpetual excommunication. But if any one desires to live with a member of a clean caste, his choice is tacitly consented. A Kandha, however, prefers a Kandha wife, as he does not care about a woman who can not understand his

feelings and scoffs at his religion. Within each sept or *mutha* the ancient patriarchal form of government still flourishes with great vigour. The head of each group is the old *aba* (father) - the Mutha Malika or Kahanra as he is called. Every village has, in the same way, its own *aba* or headman. The offices are hereditary and contingent on the good behaviour and fitness of the holders. Children are completely under the sway of their parents and do not separate during their life time. But all of them, with their wives and children, form a single family under the control of the grand father. The people of the village and even settlers are called father or mother or brother and sister, according to the relationship in which they stand to one another. Disputes are referred to a traditional council of elders; this council is appealed to by all classes and its decisions are very rarely disputed.

Village Organization and Territorial Rights:

In those days, the Kandhas held their land directly from Government. They had no other landlord and claimed permanent rights in the soil. They themselves, however, attained the position of petty landlords by the grant of a portion of their land to outsiders or to their poorer relatives. Under tenants were never supposed to acquire any permanent right of occupancy in their holdings, and were expected to acknowledge the claims of their landlords by the yearly gift (*mutha*-rent) of some rice, a goat and some liquor. Their tenure depended solely on the good will and prosperity of their landlords, and they may be ejected simply by being told to leave. They had no right to alienate their land nor were they ever permitted to sacrifice to the earth-goddess upon their holdings, a rite indicating permanent ownership, which no one but the owner of the land may perform. Produce rents were sometimes demanded one-third or a half of the yield being the usual quantity given. The custom was still in its infancy, though the Kandhas have much land that they could profitably lay out in this way. Some of them owning extensive holdings threw open the high lands to their landless brethren, neither seeking nor getting any *mutha* rent from them.

They were not under any landlord until the *Mustajari* or *Muthari* system was introduced. Even after these intermediaries came into power the Kandha continued to hold land as if they were the landlords. The villages where the Kandha resided were grouped into several *Muthas*, and each *Mutha* was homogenous in clan composition. In earlier days there was more land in relation to population and the Kandha were in possession of large holdings.

When a man dies without a male issue, his land passes to his nearest male relations and is divided equally among them. They must support the widow and the daughters, if any, and get the latter married when they grow up. Women in Kandha society cannot hold land. But they can claim maintenance. As stated earlier the joint community system prevails amongst the hill Kandha with regard to the ownership of land. The people of each village, on a larger scale, and those of a *Mutha* own them jointly. Outsiders cannot possess land within a *Mutha*. Each *Mutha* is generally composed of a single sept or clan, and therefore, an outsider who does not belong to that particular sept and is not a bonafide member of the *Mutha* has no right to acquisition of land in the *Mutha*. More over, an outsider who is not related by blood to the people of the *Mutha* is looked upon as an interloper, and, in no case, he is allowed to acquire any permanent right of occupancy in their holdings.

In the traditional Kondh society of the past, their customs and traditions governed their social interactions and reigned supreme to regulate the behavior of the tribesmen for ensuring social control and conformity. But in these days with the onslaught of the forces of culture contact, planned progress and modernization, their traditional social institutions are declining. However, the Kandhas who consider themselves to be one group of people being the Kui Loku i.e. the Kui speaking people and the children of one Earth Goddess the Darni Penu, still continue to try to retain the best of their traditional society with the objective of maintaining their separate cultural identity.

* Research Officer, SCSTRTI, Bhubaneswar

References

- | | | |
|---------------------|---------|---|
| Bailey, F.G. | 1960 | Tribe, Caste and Nation, Oxford University Press, London |
| Dalton, E.T. | 1960 | Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta |
| Debi, Kiranbala | 1963-64 | Kondh, Adibasi, Vol.-V, No. 3, p. 69-74, THRTI, Bhubaneswar. |
| Duff, Rev. A. | 1848 | Lieutenant Macpherson's Report on the Kondh of the Districts of Ganjam and Cuttack, Calcutta Review -Vol.- VI, p. 45-108, Calcutta. |
| Frowde, H. | 1908 | The Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. XV, P. 280-288, Oxford. |
| Mohanty, P.C. | 1971 | Handbook on the Kandhas of G. Udayagiri (Unpublished), Report No. 48, THRTI, Bhubaneswar. |
| Patnaik, Uma Charan | 1945 | The Kandhas of the Hills - one Century of British Rule (1836 to 1936), Mod. - Rev. Vol. - LXXVIII-1945, pp. - 214-218. |
| Patnaik, Nityananda | 1957-58 | Orissara Bivinna Prakara Kandhaa (Oriya), Adibasi, Vol.-II, No. 4, P. 26-31, THRTI, Bhubaneswar. |
| Patnaik, U.N. | 1964-65 | Reminiscences of an Administrative Officer in Kandh Hills, Adibasi, Vol. VI, No.2, P. 29-36, THRTI, Bhubaneswar. |
| Raman, Leela V. | 1957 | The Kandhas of Phulbani, Adibasi, Vol.-II, No. 1, P. 35-39, THRTI, Bhubaneswar. |
| Risely, H.H. | 1891 | Tribes and Castes of Bengal, Vol.1. Calcutta, Bengal Secretariat Press. |
| Russel, R.V. | 1975 | Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India, Vol. III, P. - 446-481, Cosmo Publications, Delhi. |
| Sherring, M.A. | 1974 | Hindu Tribes and Castes - Vol.- III, Cosmo Publication, Delhi. |

FUNDING FOR TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT IN ORISSA: SOURCES, FLOW AND DEPLOYMENT DURING FIVE YEAR PLANS

*Nishakar Panda **

Finance finally transfers policy into action by mobilising different forces. Finance plays a crucial role because it mobilises real force for achievement of goals. Therefore, its size and distribution of the total among various programmes are of critical importance for the tribal development process. Some programmes are centrally assisted with matching contribution by the state and central governments. Some programmes are fully funded by the central government or by the state government.

SOURCES AND PATTERN OF FUNDING

The financing pattern of tribal development programmes was modified during the Fifth Plan while working out the sub-plan strategy. Regional imbalance was the main focus in the system of assistance provided by the central government in the form of central or centrally sponsored programmes. It was recognised that the gulf between the tribal areas and other areas would continue to grow unless the major thrust of tribal development was provided by the concerned sectoral authorities. A new strategy of systematic quantification for tribal development was envisaged.¹

Resources for the tribal development programmes have been pooled from various sources viz. (i) outlay from the state plan (ii) flow from central/centrally sponsored programmes of the central ministries, (iii) special central assistance and (iv) institutional finance, as detailed below.

State Plan

Financial provisions for tribal areas have been made from the state's five-year plans keeping in view (a) the total population of the area, (b) the geographical area, (c) the comparative level of development and (d) the state of social services for tribal areas, as stipulated in the guidelines of the central government. The state plan outlays comprise of "divisible" and "non-divisible" components. Those investments whose benefits do not or cannot flow to any specific region or a particular target group may be called the non-divisible portion. The actual of due share of benefits from this component should be ensured to tribal region. Hence, there is weight age in allocation of funds to the tribal areas.

Pursuant to the guidelines of the central government, the process of quantification of funds has been reflected in the State's budget. Each sub-head of a minor-head in the budget of a sectoral administrative department is split up into two parts; One reflecting the share of the financial provision of the scheme for the tribal sub-plan areas and the other part reflecting the rest of the provision. Since, the quantification of funds in the state plan resources for utilisation in the tribal areas is almost mandatory, diversion of state plan funds to the non-sub-plan area is prohibited.

Central/Centrally Sponsored Programmes

The Planning Commission has stipulated that the central ministries and departments should prepare special programmes relating to their concerned sectors taking in to account the ground realities and actual problems of tribal area. They should adopt the ongoing programmes wherever necessary in consultation with the state governments, keeping in view the requirements of the tribal areas. After identification of programmes, the estimated outlays are projected by the central ministries. It is also ensured that there is integration of such outlays with state plan investment at the local level.

The central ministries assist those schemes, which they consider important for tribal areas and for which state resources are inadequate. Normally, the support is for programmes and not for staff. The central ministries thus quantify funds and as a result, such funds are reflected in their respective budgets so that they are not diverted. If diversion of funds earmarked for tribal areas in the budget of the central ministries becomes necessary on any account, this will be done with the concurrence of the Planning Commission and the Ministry of Home Affairs. Some of the important items which are supplemented by the central ministries are shifting cultivation, minor irrigation, medium irrigation, horticulture, pastures and cattle development, *tassar* development, agricultural research, marketing and credit, elementary and adult education, qualitative improvement of education, distribution of health services, special health measures for declining tribes, drinking water, rural roads development, rural electrification, development of hinterland of industrial and mining complexes, etc.

Special Central Assistance

The Ministry of Home Affairs, which is the nodal ministry for tribal development, operates the special central assistance. The role of the special central assistance is to connect the missing links in tribal areas. It is like a gap filler i.e., to make available resources for specially relevant schemes for which funds are otherwise not in sight. Hence, the special central assistance is just an additive to the state plan resources and centrally sponsored schemes and thus is supplementary in character. It is to supplement the specially relevant schemes with particular focus and emphasis on the economic development of the tribals. The distribution of special central assistance among the state governments is being done on the basis of a three-factor formula. It takes into consideration the tribal population in the state, area occupied by the Scheduled Tribe population and the factor that represents the inverse proportion of net domestic product of the state. The three components determine the share in the proportion of 50:30:20.

Institutional Finance

Institutional finance has come to occupy an important position in the development process in view of the growing importance of individual economic programmes and schemes. It has been accepted as an important constituent of the sub-plan outlay. It adds to the financial resources required for the development programmes. It is an important ingredient in the beneficiary-oriented programme for economic development. Subsidy element is available out of flow of funds under state plan, special central assistance and central plan schemes. The loan component has to flow from different financial institutions in the commercial and cooperative banking sectors.

In the formulation of programmes, specific problems of each area and the target group in terms of family need to be clearly defined and schemes directly benefiting the individual tribals are to be given the highest priority. In the field of agriculture, a tribal family is provided 50 per cent subsidy. Another 50 per cent is the loan component from the financial institution. Similar arrangements are made in the field of horticulture, sericulture, animal husbandry, small irrigation, forestry, cottage and small industries.

Non-Plan Resources

Besides these, there is an umbrella region in the financial picture. This is the non-plan budget of the state government programmes taken up in course of a plan period. It gets transferred to the non-plan side at the end of the plan period. The funds for maintaining the earlier plan programmes are taken to be committed to the non-plan budget maintenance of services created as a part of the plan activity. It is provided by the award of the finance commission. The depressing aspect in respect of tribal areas is that the development effort in these areas having so far been scanty, the non-plan sector has remained exiguous. Some sectors are financed in the main from the non-plan side e.g. education, health, cooperation, agriculture.

II

FLOW AND DEPLOYMENT OF RESOURCES

With the change in priorities and imperatives of development administration and consequent change in the administrative structure the financial arrangements for tribal development have also undergone changes. The launching of tribal sub-plan since the Fifth Five-Year Plan witnessed significant growth in the share of public interest for tribal areas.²

Flow of Funds from State Plan

While in the First Plan barely one per cent of the total National Plan outlay was earmarked for tribal development programmes, it increased to manifold in subsequent Plans.³ Systematic quantification of funds from different sources and sectors for tribal development in tribal areas and setting of milestones under different programmes and sectors are the salient features of the tribal development programmes in the state.⁴ In the guidelines, it has been laid down in principle that funds should be apportioned by all the Departments for the development of sub-plan areas and the quantum of allocation in the budget out of state plan to those areas must not fall short of the proportionate population of STs in the state. Earmarking of funds for Tribal Sub-Plan areas are displayed in the budget by the concerned Departments in a separate minor head which cannot be diverted. Total state plan outlay, flow to tribal sub-plan area and percentage flow from total outlay during different Five-Year Plans in the state are indicated in Table-1 as under.

Table 1. Plan-Wise Flow Of Funds Under State Plan
(Rs. in lakh)

Plan Periods	Total State Plan Outlay	Flow for Tribal Development to TSP Areas	Percentage to total
First Plan (1951-56)	2055.49	111.28	5.41
Second Plan (1956-61)	9998.91	380.00	3.80
Third Plan (1961-66)	16000.00	463.00	2.89
Fourth Plan (1969-74)	22260.00	385.00	1.73
Fifth Plan (1974-79)	88850.00	12735.00	14.33
Sixth Plan (1980-85)	150000.00	53319.00	35.55
Seventh Plan (1985-90)	508871.10	178905.05	35.16
Eighth Plan (1992-97)	1000000.00	232801.37	23.28
Ninth Plan (1997-2002)	1457801.76	343153.17	23.54

Source: Government documents.

Table-1 presents a grim picture of the financial diversion for tribal development. The allocation of funds for Tribal Sub-Plan Areas from First to Fourth Plan period was low. The lowest was during the Fourth Plan with only 1.73 per cent flow. The percentage figures did not exceed 5.41 per cent during the first four Plan periods. It was only from the Fifth Plan onwards that the percentage flow increased with the highest of 35.55 per cent during the Sixth Plan period. The flow of funds to TSP is clearly depicted in fig.-1.

Fig.-1



Outlay and Expenditure during Plan Periods

As discussed in foregoing pages, besides State Plan, funds from different other sources and sectors were earmarked for tribal development programmes viz., Central Plan, centrally Sponsored Plan and Special Central Assistance. The outlay and expenditure of all these sources during different plan periods of the state under tribal development programmes are indicated in Table- 2,3 and 4.

Table- 2 : Outlay& Expenditure Under State Sector

Sl.No	Five Year Plans	Out lay	Expenditure	Percentage of Expenditure
1.	First Plan	111.28	111.28	100
2.	Second Plan	380.00	332.00	87.37
3.	Third Plan	463.00	371.43	80.22
4.	Fourth Plan	385.00	384.38	99.84
5.	Fifth Plan	12,735.00	14,167.07	111.25
6.	Sixth Plan	53,319.00	47,099.81	88.34
7.	Seventh Plan	178,905	99,462.93	55.60
8.	Eighth Plan	232,801.37	137,774.92	59.18
9.	Ninth Plan	343,153.17	235,447.32	68.61

Source: Government documents.

Table- 2 and 3 depicts the outlay and expenditure pattern and the various sources of finance for tribal development programmes. The total outlay weighs out total expenditure in most of the Plans. Total expenditure falling short of the total outlay has been a cardinal feature in various Plans.

Table- 3: Outlay and Expenditure under Central Sector in Orissa (Rs.in lakh)

Sl no	Five Year Plans	Central plan & C.S.P.		Special Central Assistance	
		Outlay	Expenditure	outlay	Expenditure
1	First Plan	116.29	116.29	-	-
2	Second Plan	336.73	328.58	-	-
3	Third Plan	378.67	373.94	-	-
4	Fourth Plan	488.50	558.00	-	-
5	Fifth Plan	2,54.57	2,544.57	3,267.4	3,267.44
6	Sixth Plan	10,767.00	11,743.02	5,659.00	5,844.55
7	Seventh Plan	18,818.07	35,252.73	14,724.37	9,116.71
8	Eighth Plan	49,858.82	55,965.10	16,757.80	16,300.58
9	Ninth Plan	120,283.28	120,180.28	25,190.10	28,849.95

Source: Government documents.

This picture, however, is not the same in case of individual sectors. There are exceptions in expenditure under state sector during the Fifth Plan period, central plan during Sixth to Eighth Plan, central assistance during Sixth and Ninth Plans. The expenditure remained above the outlay in those cases.

Table -4

Total Outlay and Expenditure under Tribal Development Programmes (Rs.in lakh)

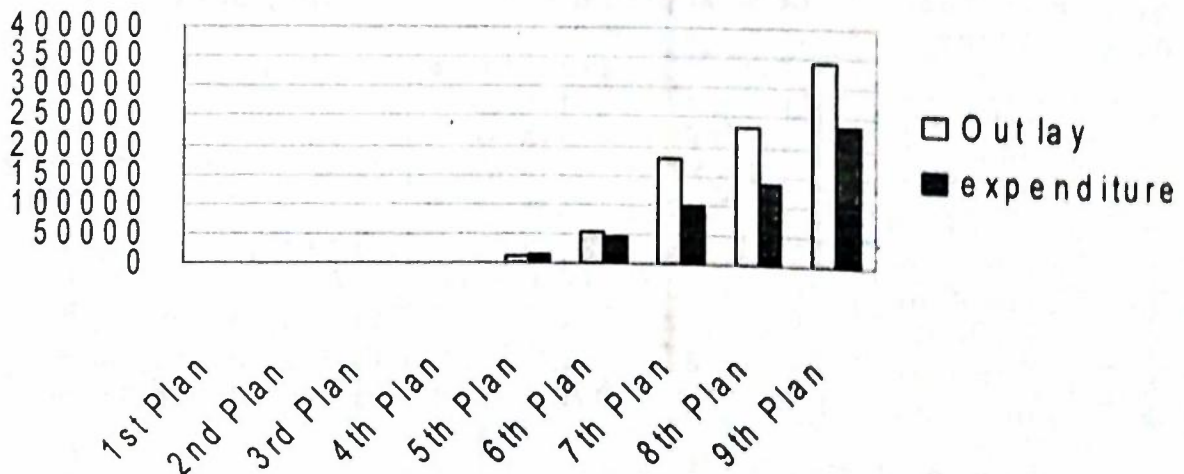
Sl.no	Five year plans	Total Outlay	Expenditure	Percentage
1.	First Plan	227.57	227.57	100.00
2.	Second Plan	716.73	660.58	92.17
3.	Third Plan	841.67	745.37	88.56
4.	Fourth Plan	973.50	942.38	96.80
5.	Fifth Plan	18,547.01	19,979.08	107.72
6.	Sixth Plan	69,745.00	64,727.38	92.81
7.	Seventh Plan	212,447.49	143,832.37	67.70
8.	Eighth Plan	299,417.99	210,040.60	70.15
9.	Ninth Plan	488,626.55	384,477.55	78.69

Source: Government documents.

The overall scenario is not so gloomy and discouraging as far as total outlay & expenditure both under state and central sector is concerned. Percentage of expenditure was quite significant and even more than the outlay in two instances though a declining trend in expenditure was noticed after the sixth five year plan (Table-4). A marked mismatch between outlay & expenditure from seventh five year onwards is evident from Fig.-II.

Fig.-II

Outlay & Expenditure for tribal Development Programmes



To sum up, higher outlay does not always necessarily mean higher outcome. Allocation in itself does not guarantee in any way the attainment of lofty objectives proclaimed by the Constitution.⁶ Fixation of milestones, implementation as per schedule

and realisation of predefined goals are the basic canons of any development policy. Proper execution must keep pace with the allocation so that the desired results can be expected. There is always a gap between the outlay and expenditure. The gap, however, is not substantial.

* Qr. No.1/008, BDA Apartment, Nilakantha Nagar, Bhubaneswar-751012.

References

1. B.D. Sharma, *Planning for Tribal Development*, Prachi Prakashan, 1984, p. 92.
2. Bhupinder Singh, *Planning Strategy for Tribal Development: Retrospect and Prospect*, Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi, 1981, p. 14.
3. Om Mehta, *Tribal Development: The New Strategy*, Ministry of Home Affairs.
4. Government of Orissa, Welfare Department, *Tribal Sub-Plan for Annual Plan, 1995-96, Orissa, May 1995*, p. 12.
5. Government of Orissa, ST & SC Development Department, *Tribal Sub-Plan for Annual Plan, 1999-2000, Orissa, August 1999*, p. 3.
6. V.C. Kumaran, "Development of Tribal Areas", in S.G. Deogaonkar (Ed.), *Problems of Development of Tribal Areas*, p. 40.

KUTIA KONDH DEVELOPMENT AGENCY (KKDA) LANJIGARH: A DEVELOPMENT PROFILE

Kalpana Patnaik *

Introduction:

Kutia Kondh is one of the section of the largest Kondh tribe of Orissa which has been identified as Primitive Tribal Group (PTGs) on the basis of the criteria stipulated by the Govt. of India; during 6th Plan period. They are found mainly in Belghar, Gumma, Lankagarh, Jhiripani Gram Panchyats of Tumudibandh Block and in few villages of Subarnagiri area of Kotagarh block of Kondhmal district and also in Lanjigarh Block of Kalahandi district. The distinctive features of Kutia Kondh are that - they and speak "Kui" dialect of Dravidian linguistic family; they claim a typical mythical origin of emergence of their tribe out of "Kuti" meaning a big hole on earth; have well organized clan groups, traditional social organizations, village council and functionaries, culture and the life style. They are popularly known for *Meria Festival* (human sacrifices in turmeric fields) in the pre-Independence period. They are basically, shifting cultivators and at present subsist on settle cultivation, shifting cultivation, wage earnings and forest collection.

For the all round development of Kutia Kondhs, two Micro Projects were set up in Orissa known as Kutia Kondh Development Agency (KKDA), Belghar (1978) and KKDA, Lanjigarh (1986), which have been functioning till date utilizing funds received under Special Central Assistance (SCA) from Govt. of India. The total population of Kutia Kondh in these two Micro Projects was 6479 which has increased to 8,053 as per Socio-Economic Survey conducted by SCSTRTI in 2000-01 and 2007-08 for preparation of Need based Action Plan for the 10th Five Year Plan and CCD Plan for 11th Five Year Plan respectively.

Objectives:

The main objective of this paper is to give a database and description about the present status of the Micro Project, KKDA, Lanjigarh, taking into account all the beneficiary households of 17 Project villages. The paper intended to give more stresses on "Planned Development Intervention" made since inception of the Project with reference to the Project area, resources, people and their socio-economic condition.

Scope:

- i) It will help researchers, academicians and planners for an academic reference and applied and comparative research.
- ii) It will help to formulate vision plan for the socio-economic development of Kutia Kondh of Lanjigarh.

The Project:

KKDA, Lanjigarh was constituted for the all-round developments of Kutia Kondhs vide Notification No-24363/H. &T.W. Department., Dated 13.8.1986 and was registered

under the Societies Registration Act, 1860 on 20.12.1986. The Agency started functioning with its headquarters at Lanjigarh, in Kalahandi district under a Governing Body, headed by the District Collector, Kalahandi as its Chairman; P.A., ITDA, Thuamul-Rampur, Bhawanipatna as Vice-Chairman and Special Officer, Micro Project as Member Secretary. Besides, it has 21 members from various line departments, financial institutions, people's representatives and tribal leaders.

Location:

The Project covers an area of 17.5 Sq.Kilometres, which comes under the Sadar sub-Division and Thuamul-Rampur ITDA area of Kalahandi district. The Project covers, 17 revenue villages of which 8 villages come under Lanjigarh Gram Panchayat and rest 9, under Chatrapur Gram Panchayat all of which are under the jurisdiction of Lanjigarh Police Station. The Project villages are approachable by all weather roads except a few fair weather communications. The Project headquarters, Lanjigarh is 60 Kms. away from Bhawanipatna, the district headquarters of Kalahandi.

Geo-physical Condition:

The project lies in between 19° 30"N to 19° 45" N Latitude and 83° 20"E to 83° 25" E Longitude with an elevation of about 1500-1600 feet above the mean sea level. The area enjoys a comparatively dry climate with a moderate rainfall influenced by southwest monsoon. There are three types of soils like soil of laterite origin, brown forest soil and red soil found in the project area, beneficial for a sizable production of cereals, pulses, mustard, groundnut, potato, cotton and large varieties of horticultural crops. There is luxuriant floral and faunal growth across the Niyamagiri Hill ranges and its foot ranges. River (Bansadhara), rivulets (Masani Nalla, Padarbhatta Nalla, Nagalbeda Nalla and Sukha Nalla), forest and Mineral resources like Bauxite and unclassified Gneisses including Singhbhum Granites, Khondalites and Charnockite group and Anorthosite, Gaabro - Granophre complex of middle Proterozoic exist in this area. Some of these natural resources were tapped up, utilized and developed for the economic benefit of the beneficiary households during last decades.

Demographic Profile:

There are 17 villages in the Project, which have a total of 687 households (557 are Kutia Kondh households and rest 130 households belong to Lohara, Dom, Pano, Paika, Teli, Sundi and Mali communities) having 3065 (1556 Males + 1509 Females) population. The percentage of Kutia Kondh household is 81.08% to the total household of 687 of the project area as per the survey. The population of 557 Kutia Kondh households is 2442 persons (1240 Males + 1202 females) with a sex ratio of 969 Females per 1000 Males. The average size of the Kutia Kondh household is approximately 4 persons.

The total percentage of literacy of the project (villages) is 30.55% (43.47% Males +17.22% Females) of which the number of literates in the age-group category of "below 14 years" is more than the number of literates in the age group category of 15 years and above. This reveals that the Project has taken initiatives in motivating the Kutia parents to send their children to schools. As observed, the total number of illiterates is more than two times than the total number of literates of the project area.

The village-wise and a sex-wise distribution of population and literates are given in Table-1

Table-1

Sl. No.	Name of the Villages	Total No. of PTG households	Population			Literates		
			Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total/ Percentage
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
A. Lanjigarh G.P.								
1	Banigaon	27	69	65	134	36	10	46(24.63)
2	Similibhata	40	82	74	156	31	8	39 (25.00)
3	Goipeta	29	65	61	126	26	13	39 (30.95)
4	Kasibadi	14	27	27	54	13	5	18 (33.33)
5	Bandhaguda	21	49	35	84	12	1	13 (15.48)
6	Rengopali	48	91	94	185	38	20	58 (31.35)
7	Dengsargi	23	46	50	96	10	9	19 (19.79)
8	Kenduguda	29	66	63	129	14	6	20 (15.50)
B. Chatrapur G.P.								
1	Kinari	32	66	71	137	34	11	45 (32.85)
2	Kapaguda	41	91	80	171	49	13	62 (36.20)
3	Kutendeli	16	41	50	91	17	11	28 (30.37)
4	Belemba	30	77	82	159	33	27	60 (37.73)
5	Maskapadar	68	151	150	301	65	13	78(25.91)
6	Rosbundel	18	41	43	84	19	7	26 (30.95)
7	Baniponga	25	66	59	125	43	9	52 (41.60)
8	Bhataguda	58	131	104	235	61	33	94 (40.00)
9	Turiguda	38	81	94	175	38	11	49 (28.00)
Total/Percentage		557	1240 (50.78)	1202 (49.22)	2442 (100.00)	539 (43.47)	207 (17.22)	746 (30.55)

Ethnic Profile:

The Kutia Kondh inhabiting the Project area is divided into 34 clan groups. Their sizes vary between the ranges of minimum 1 household to maximum 127 households. Bidrika clan group is the dominant clan group of the KKDA area followed by *Kadraka*, *Jakesika* and *Sikoka* having more than 60 households (Socio-Economic Survey, 2001-02).

Landholding:

The project area has 1.25 acres of current fallow, 463.72 acres of wasteland, 136.89 acres of land put to non-agricultural uses, 340.90 acres of permanent pasture and grazing land and 253.74 acres of forestland. Besides, 1526.41 acres of cultivated land, 0.88 acres of orchard and 13.90 acres kitchen garden of the target beneficiary households were also present.

Little information was obtained about the exact area under shifting cultivation. It is known that shifting cultivation (swidden cultivation) is one of the main sources of livelihood of Kutia Kondh households of the Project villages. Swidden cultivation is done on hilltops and hill slopes rotationally and the headman of the village distributes these lands. As many as 114 (14 fully +100 partially) households depend upon shifting cultivation having a total of 139 swidden pots (the plot size varies from 0.5 Ac. to 2.00 Ac approximately) The average swidden plots per household are 1.22 acres. Crops like minor millets, *alsi*, *kangu*, *janna*, *suan*, *kosala*, *kandula*, *jhudanga* etc. are grown in

these swidden plots. Although, the yield from these swidden plots are meager but people tend to raise these crops because those have religious and cultural significance.

Most of the cultivable lands of these PTG households are rain fed lands providing scope for single cropping or mono cropping; therefore provide food insecurity and lesser work participation through out the year. This has affected their socio-economic life in breeding abject poverty. It is observed and informed that major crops grown in the project villages are paddy, *ragi*, blackgram, redgram, nizer, groundnut, wheat, cotton, maize, mustard, field pea, *jowar*, turmeric and potato. Besides a number of vegetables, mushrooms and different fruits are also grown.

The total cultivable Land of the project is 1526.41 acres distributed among 426 households. There are 131 landless households. The average land holding per household is 2.74 acres.

The total forest area in the project villages is 254.74 acres, which meets the need of food, fuel, fodder, fiber, flank and other house building materials. Forest also provides economic pursuits. Forest the indispensable part of Kutia Kondh culture is reported to be shrinking gradually due to demand of growing population and shrinking land-man ratio, industrialization and other development interventions. Tree and MFPs Species like *sal*, medicinal plants, bamboo, broomsticks, *mohua* flower, *kendu* leaves are exported from the project area.

Plant Resources:

There are 21 varieties of trees owned by the people. Some of those are planted in their kitchen gardens; backyards and others are located in their swidden plots. As estimated the total number of trees owned / possessed is 1680 of which *Mahua* constitute 873(51.96%), jackfruit 191 (11.37%), mango 148 (8.81%), guava 122(7.26%), *Mahua* plant 100(5.95%), custard apple 56(3.33%), Jammu 31(1.85%), papaya 28(1.67%), and *Salap* 25(1.49%) each. Trees like coconut (18), eucalyptus (17), tamarind (8), date palm (7), drumstick (7), cashew nut (6), lemon (5), orange (4), *neem* (3) and *kendu*(2) constitute 81(4.82%) of the total tree owned by the PTG households. The average trees owned / possessed per household is 3 in number. *Mahua*, *salap*, *kendu* and mango are larger in number contribute 1148 (68.33 %) have high socio-cultural significance and usage.

Animal Resources:

PTG households of the Project in total have 2352 domesticated animals and birds of which poultry birds occupy 725 followed by bullock (510), goat (415), cow (379), buffalo (224), sheep (79), pig (19) and she-buffalo (1) in descending orders.

Plough bullocks and buffaloes cater to the need of those households (469 H.H.) engaged in cultivation primarily and secondarily. It is also found that at present most of the households are depending upon hiring of plough bullocks (called *Bucka* locally) on exchange basis to meet their real need of cultivation.

Taking into account the existing number of plough bullocks and buffaloes and the total number of households depending upon cultivation primarily and secondarily it can be inferred that 102 pairs of plough bullocks/ buffaloes are more needed for those households depending upon cultivation.

Health Profile:

The Project has adequate health care facilities like a Mobile Health Unit, which covers 16 villages. It has 7 Anganwadi centers (ICDS), covering all the 17 project villages. There is an ANM Centre at village Bhataguda and a sub-centre at project headquarters Lanjigarh. People also depend upon their traditional medicine man-*Disheri* in as many as 14 villages. In spite of these efforts the health status of the people appears to be marginal.

69 person (57 males + 12 females) were found suffering from different diseases at the time of survey of which 28 are cases of old age sufferings and 2 are disabled persons and rest are suffering from malaria, gastritis, anemia, scabies, jaundice, polio, *pillirog* (inflammation of spleen), tuberculosis, epilepsy, bronchitis, piles and leukemia.

Malaria is endemic in the area but the incidence is relatively low as the project authority upholds a follow up prophylactics in giving Chloroquine tablets to the people every fortnightly. The people of the project area are prone to water borne diseases and malaria -the percentage of sufferers as found is 2.83% of the total population.

To reduce the health problems the project has taken up sanitation programme and constructed 9 concrete drains in 9 villages for drainage of waste and rainwater.

Economic Profile:

Kutia Kondh households of the Project area are largely depended upon cultivation and some households on wage earning, shifting cultivation, service, sheep herding and old age pension. Considering the sources of income it is found that Kutia Kondh of the Project area are primarily dependent upon cultivation and secondarily on wage earning and forest collection. Kutia Kondh practiced 17 categories of occupation and each household depended upon two-to-three occupational categories during different part of the year. The occupational status is ascertained in taking into account two sectors of occupational category which revealed that wage earning occupies transcendental position followed by cultivation, forest collection, shifting cultivation and other occupational categories in descending order (Socio-Economic Survey 2001-02).

Workforce Participation:

- The workforce participation in different occupation is also ascertained and it is found that there are 1482 workers {1724 males (48.85%) and 758 females (51.15%)} and 960 (516 males + 444 females) non-workers. The sex-wise distribution of workers revealed that females outnumber males in worker category and it is the vice versa in non-worker category. The variation in number of male and female workers in worker and non-worker category is 34 and 72 respectively.
- The earner and dependant ratio in project area is 1:0.65 which implies that a Kutia Kondh earner in an average has shouldered only the 65% of the cost responsibility of a dependant.

Economic Status:

Taking into account the annual income, expenditure and household assets (2000-01) (including the value of land, house/house-site, orchard, fruit trees, domestic animals and birds owned, agricultural, hunting and musical instruments, household

articles, jewels and ornaments and modern articles) the economic status of 557 PTG households are assessed which implies that the average annual income varies from Rs.2, 050/- in the minimum to Rs.76, 6 00/- at the maximum. The average annual per capita income is Rs.1, 876.58 and expenditure is Rs.1, 807.47.

Poverty ranking:

On the basis of these data poverty ranking of these PTG households has been made as reflected below:

Sl.	Income range	No. of Households		Poverty Ranking	Remarks
1	Upto Rs.3, 000/-	9	533 (95.69%)	Very poor	BPL households
2	3,001 to Rs.5, 000/-	62		Very poor	
3	5001 to Rs10000/-	394		Poor	
4	10001/-to Rs15000/-	68		Poor	
5	15001/-to Rs24000/-	22	24 (3.95%)	Subsistent/lower income group	
6	58001/-toRs76600/-	2	2 (0.36%)	Medium income group	
Total		557			

The above table reveals that 71 households have income within Rs.5, 000/- per annum are termed "poorest of the poor", 462 households belonging to "poor" category, 22 households are subsistent lower income group" and rest 2 are belonging to "medium income group category.

It is found that 533(95.69%) households have annual income less than Rs. 15, 000/- and per capita expenditure is less than Rs.3000/- per annum, are BPL households according to the norms fixed by the Panchayatiraj Department.

Indebtedness:

There are 103 indebted households in the project area of which 89 households are indebted in cash and 17 households are indebted in kind (i.e. rice and paddy). The total money indebted amounting to Rs.97 630/- varies from Rs.100/- in minimum to Rs.6,000/- at maximum. The amount of rice and paddy indebted together is amounting to 1425 kg (795 kg rice + 630 kg paddy). Two village namely, Kasibadi and Dengsargi have little incidence of indebtedness.

To cater to the problem food insecurity and indebtedness, 3 nos. of grain banks are functioning in the project area successfully. Besides, people are covered under Food For Work Programme, Anthodoya, SJSRY, JRY, Arnapurna Yojona, Assured Gramina Rojgar Yojona and other related anti- poverty programmes during the time of draught and crisis.

Core Programme of the Project:

Taking into account the Base Line Survey Report (1984-85) from pilot survey, on KKDA, Lanjigarh, the Project adopted following development strategy as its core programme- like Horticulture and soil conservations measures, Agriculture and allied programmes like land reclamation & development, distribution of seeds, supply of agricultural implements, fertilizer and pesticides, low lift pump sets, vegetable

cultivation, plantation, bee-keeping (silvi-culture), some welfare programme and animal husbandry programme.

The project mainly focused on horticulture and agriculture development programmes in its one & half decade operational career, as found during the survey.

The project received funds annually for meeting its establishment and development costs. The year wise funds released and its utilization since inception till 2000-01 is presented below in Table-2 for a better understanding of the financial support to the Micro Project for its smooth operation.

Table - 2

Statement showing funds released/utilization certificates submitted to Government by KKDA, Lanjigarh (since inception to 2000-2001)

Year	Opening Balance as on 01-04-1999	Amount Released by H&TW Deptt. To Micro Project	Total funds available for expenditure	Amount utilized during the year	Utilisation certificates sent	Balance at the year ending
1986-87		4,75,000/-	4,75,000.00	34,746.84	-	4,40,253.16
1987-88	4,40,253.16	5,00,000/-	9,40,253.16	4,90,967.75	-	4,49,285.41
1988-89	4,49,285.41	2,95,000/-	7,44,285.41	4,49,865.13	3,92,027.09	2,94,420.28
1989-90	2,94,428.28	5,00,000/-	7,94,428.28	3,98,773.99	4,28,064.13	4,65,646.29
1990-91	4,65,646.29	12,00,000/-	16,65,646.29	3,18,365.10	6,35,348.54	13,47,281.19
1991-92	13,47,281.19	7,30,000/-	20,77,281.19	13,65,750.99	5,31,329.25	7,11,530.20
1992-93	7,11,530.20	5,85,000/-	12,96,530.20	9,55,205.07	11,68,625.61	3,41,325.13
1993-94	3,41,325.13	6,86,000/-	10,27,325.13	7,02,165.75	11,92,437.22	3,25,159.38
1994-95	3,25,159.38	8,58,000/-	11,83,159.38	6,99,436.46	2,71,011.46	4,83,722.92
1995-96	4,83,722.92	10,30,000/-	15,13,722.92	8,80,796.78	6,99,436.46	6,32,926.14
1996-97	6,32,926.14	5,64,000/-	11,96,926.14	9,05,517.73	9,05,517.75	2,91,408.41
1997-98	2,91,408.41	6,93,000/-	9,84,408.41	5,64,357.62	-	4,20,050.79
1998-99	4,20,050.79	6,90,000/-	11,10,050.79	9,23,103.32	5,55,494.50	1,86,947.47
1999-00	1,86,947.47	-	1,86,947.47	118436.35	-	68,511.12
2000-01	68,511.12	8,36,000/-	9,04,511.12	6,69,809.12	5,60,000.12	2,34,702.00
Total	64,58,475.89	96,42,000/-	1,61,00,475.89	94,07,298.00	73,19,228.11	66,93,177.89

Planned Development Intervention:

The Planned Development Intervention of the project will give a detail description of the implementation of different development schemes made for the socio-economic development of the PTG households of the project area. Out of 557 PTG households only 498 households had received different development assistance since inception (1987-88 to 2000-01) and rest 59 households received little development assistance.

In the initial year of the project only horticulture programme was adopted and in subsequent four years (1988-89 to 1991-92) various schemes under horticulture and agriculture programmes were taken up. On fifth year (1992-93) the selected beneficiary households were covered under agriculture development programmes like supply of agriculture implements, low lift pump sets, seeds, fertilizers and pesticides. In 1993-94 and 1994-95, only agriculture development programmes were adopted for identified beneficiary households.

During 1995-96, the project had adopted extensive development programmes. It emphasized on agriculture, land reclamation, bee keeping and some welfare schemes by distributing medicines and blankets to the beneficiaries. It incurred more than 2 lakh rupees for the beneficiaries during this year. In subsequent financial years the project incurred expenditure on agriculture and horticulture programme. As assessed, the project in total spent Rs.8,96,560.98 on different development assistance since inception of the project (1987-88 to 2000-01) covering 3099 b beneficiaries in total, during last fourteen years with an average of Rs.289.31 per beneficiary under Income Generation Schemes (IGS). The year-wise schemes implemented, beneficiaries covered and total development assistance provided are presented in Table-3.

Besides, the Project spent on amount of Rs.43,77,622/- for the development and construction of different infrastructures in the Project villages since inception, which contribute 45.40% of the total fund released to the Project (Rs.96,42,000/-) and 46.53% of the total fund utilized (Rs.94,07,298/-) by the Project since inception.

Table -4, presents the year-wise amount spent by Micro project for different infrastructure development.

Table -5, presents the Expenditure Incurred by the Project on Establishment, Infrastructure(IDS) and Income Generation Programmes (IGS)

(Tables- 3, 4, & 5 are given at the end)

Conservation-cum-Development (CCD)Plan for 11th Five Year Plan (2007-12)

During 2007 SCSTRTI had taken up another survey of all the Micro Projects in collaboration with the concerned Micro Projects taking into account all the PTG population of the Projects for preparation of Conservation-cum-Development Plans for 11th Five Year Plan (2007-2012) as desired by Ministry of Tribal Affairs (MOTA) Govt. of India. The survey also compiled basic information like number of Project villages/settlements, total households, landless households, BPL households, population, sex ratio, literacy level, occupational status and sources of income of the PTGs. Besides it also identified problems of the area and the people, and priority of the people through a series of Focused Group Discussion (FGD) and Gram Sabha. The survey revealed that in case of DKDA, Lanjigarh the total number of villages have come down from 17 to 16 distributed in three GPs which were previously under two GPs, the reason being the inclusion of village Kinari in Vedanta Alumina industrial project area. A comparative analysis of information collected during 2001 and 2007 is given in Table -6

Table -6

Sl. No.	Types of information	2001	2007	Remarks
1.	No. of Project villages	17 in Two GPs	16 in Three GPs	1 reduced
2.	Total Households	557	591	34 increased
3.	Landless Households	131	95	36 reduced
4.	BPL Households	533	288	245 reduced
5.	Population	2442	2549	107 increased
6.	Population Growth	-	4.38%	Increased
7.	Sex ratio	969	979	10 increased
8.	Literacy	30.55%	32.56%	2.01% increased
9.	Male literacy	43.47%	44.64%	1.17% increased
10.	Female literacy	17.22%	20.22%	3.00% increased

The survey was mainly made on the basis of the guidelines issued by MOTA, Govt. of India for a total development of the PTGs. The plan aimed to reduce poverty, enhance literacy, ensure health status, income generation and above all to improve the quality of life of the PTGs and conservation of their tradition and culture. The survey identified the priorities of the PTGs like communication, fire proof houses, irrigation and safe drinking water, horticulture programmes, health, education and coverage under Janashree Bima Yojana in descending order. The total financial abstract for the year 2007-2012 financial year under CCD Plan for KKDA, Lanjigarh is given in Table -7

Table -7

Sl. No.	Implementing agencies	Works Rs. in Lakhs	Other than Works Rs. in Lakhs	Total
1	Orissa Govt.	--	23.25	23.25
2	ITDA	40.50	--	40.50
3	G.P	--	--	--
4	NGO	--	13.84	13.84
5	Micro Project	159.86	60.60	220.46
Total		200.36 (67.22%)	97.69 (32.78%)	298.05

The CCD Plan gave more stress on building of basic infrastructures (about 67.22% of the total out lay) and less on other social development works. Those are to be implemented by Govt. of Orissa, ITDA, NGO and Micro Project. Gram Panchayats have major role to play in supervision of all the works because the CCD plan had been prepared in consultation and approval of Gram Sabhas.

Conclusion:

On the basis of these data a SWOT analysis has been made which reflected that the project has physical and financial strength and many areas of opportunity for expansion of economic development. The point of strength are implementing agency, flow funds, development schemes, input and technical assistance, and area of opportunity are forest resources indigenous schemes and knowledge and natural resources. It has minimum points of weakness and threat to restrict its scope of development. The causes of weakness are illiteracy, lack of knowledge, poverty poor infrastructure facilities, ill health, poor management and un-utilization of natural and human resources and lack of people participation in development this can be curbed up through suitable positive approaches and strategies.

However, the following recommendations can be considered for development.

1. Flow of fund to the project is steady which needs proper distribution among the different heads of expenditure to avoid lapses. Proper monitoring of funds needs to be ensured.
2. Although PTGs inhabit resource rich areas, they have little knowledge of their global utilization, mobilization and management and therefore, suffer from impoverishment. Steps should be taken for utilization of these resources.
3. Kutia Kondh has good knowledge of swidden cultivation, house building and preparation of minor household articles. In village Kasibadi, most of the members of Kutia Kondh households have expertise in plough making. These traditional skills and know how can be promoted for their economic betterment.
4. The area has scope for expansions of agriculture, horticulture and animal husbandry programmes.
5. Besides, there are scopes for establishment of some small and medium range industries and also agro-based industries.
6. The forest also provides scope for the economic pursuit of the Kutia Kondhs. Schemes should be made for establishment of processing units of various Minor Forest Produce (MFP) and also cottage industries.
7. The project should adopt schemes for wasteland development for expansion of pasture and grazing land, fodder cultivation and afforestation programmes.
8. Although project has taken steps and established Community Centers in every village, those should be developed with all 'aids and inputs' of practical learning, awareness building, attitude formation and motivation.
9. Efforts of the project in the promotion of literacy are good. It should further expanded so that people will develop a sense receptivity to accept the positive message of development? Female education needs special care and promotion.
10. Project should make "livelihood promotion" and "in situ development" training for youths and leaders.
11. The project has made effort for preservation of tribal art and dance in one village, Similibhata that requires further expansion, promotion and publicity.

12. The steps taken by the project to uphold the problem of health through health care and sanitation programme is remarkable. The follow up actions should be taken to promote health awareness and health status among the people.
13. The social priorities and problems of the people need to be assessed before preparation and implementation of any action plan for development.
14. People's participation should be ensured in planning and implementation.
15. It is a fact that infrastructure development should be given top priority. Because, those are the mediating agents to reach people and the medium of support, for planned development intervention for the target group.

It can be concluded that the achievement of KKDA, Lanjigarh till date is no doubt appreciable but it failed to achieve the desired targets of the project in sectors like-education, health and economic development of its beneficiaries.

** Research Officer, SCSTRTI, Bhubaneswar*

References:

1. Project Report on Baseline report on KKDA Lanjigarh (1985)
2. Socio-Economic Survey Report (2000-01) on KKDA Lanjigarh, SCSTRTI
3. Tribes of Orissa (Revised Edition) 2004, Published by SCSTRTI
4. Kondh of Orissa (Revised Edition) 2006, Published by SCSTRTI
5. CCD Plan for PTGs, KKDA, Lanjigarh (2007) prepared by SCSTRTI
6. Activity Report of Micro Projects for PTGs (2007) ST & SC Dev. Dept, Orissa.

Table-3
SCHEME WISE EXPENDITURE ON BENEFICIARIES COVERED BY KKDA, LANJIGARH IN 17 PROJECT VILLAGES SINCE 1987-88 TO 2000-2001

S1. No	Financial Year Dev. Particular	1987-88	1988-89	1989-90	1990-91	1991-92	1992-93	1993-94	1994-95	1995-96	1996-97	1997-98	1998-99	1999-2000	2000-01
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
1	Scheme provided	Banana, Papaya, J.fruit, guava, c. apple, D.Stick	G.nut maize field pea mustard j.fruit guava,c. apple, papaya coconut mango, paddy fertilizer, land reclamation	Mango Coconut, Mustard Plough Bullock, Ferti-pesticide, paddy, lemon, orange, guava, ragi	Ag.Imp. Ag.Input Nizer, polato, wheat, Orange, Papaya, Lemon Guava Fruit G.nut, Paddy Black Gram.	Ag. Imp. Ag. Input Ustard J.fruit Banana, b.gram, paddy, nizer maize jawar,	Ag. Imp. Ag. Input Mustard, Maize, Nizer, Ragi, Black-gram, Red-gram, Paddy, Jawar Fertilizer Low lift	Ag. Input Cashew nut Maize, j.fruit, papya, orange, lemon, guava, mustard blackgr am, D.stick, ferti Lizer.	Mustard Guava C.apple Orange J.fruit Papaya, D.Stick	Ag. Imp Ag.Input Paddy, Blanket, Medicine Gnut, maize Mung, Mustard, Veg.seed Guava, c.apple, wheat, jawar, bee box' fer-tilizer, L.Dev.	Ag. Imp. Ag. Input Paddy, mung, mustard Maize, R.gram B.gram Field pea Wheat, jawar, Veg. Seeds, medicine	Nizer Mung Black Gram, Red Gram Mustard, Fertilizer	Ag. Input Maize, Cotton G.nut, Mushroom Veg.seeds, CashewNut, polythene Bag	Ag. Input G.nut, Vegt. Seeds, Banana, Potato	G.Nut, Field pea, Papaya Drum Stick
2	Total amount spent (RS)	20692.21	34155.03	24673.42	60667.48	60546.91	70435.99	16613.25	4099.56	213575.75	17491.14	30052.50	104078.29	57970.56	18505.8
3	No. of beneficiary	212	200	176	162	214	252	154	158	397	364	279	290	160	61
4	Assistance per beneficiary	97.60	170.78	140.19	333.34	282.93	279.51	120.87	25.95	537.97	490.36	107.71	358.89	362.32	303.42

• Out of total funding of Rs.96, 42,000/- to Micro Project only Rs.8,96,560.98 have been spent towards development assistance to the beneficiaries since 1987 (over the last 14 years)

• Besides, the project spent an amount of Rs.43, 77,622/- for the development and construction of different infrastructures in the project villages since inception, which is 45.40% of the total fund released to the project (Rs.96, 42,000/-) and 46.53% of the total fund utilized (Rs.94, 07,298) by the project since inception.

Table-4
Amount Spent by Micro Project on IDS Programme since inception
(1986-87 to 2000-07)

IDS Programme	Amount spent year-wise in Rupees for various infrastructure development schemes.																	Total expenditure sector wise
	1986-87	1987-88	1988-89	1988-90	1989-90	1990-91	1991-92	1992-93	1993-94	1994-95	1995-96	1996-97	1997-98	1998-99	1999-2000	2000-01	2001-02	
1	30,000	40,000	2,10,870	2,80,000	2,00,000	9	8	2,80,000	2,00,000	18,000	18,000	18,000	18,000	18,000	18,000	18,000	18,000	18,000
Irrigation	-	68,000	-	2,80,000	98,400	91,500	91,500	91,500	91,500	91,500	91,500	91,500	91,500	91,500	91,500	91,500	91,500	91,500
Construction	11,000	-	2,20,000	1,82,000	1,10,000	34,000	34,000	34,000	34,000	34,000	34,000	34,000	34,000	34,000	34,000	34,000	34,000	34,000
Communication	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Drinking water	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	41,000	30,000	1,08,000	1,31,687	4,30,870	4,62,000	5,22,400	2,36,000	1,41,500	3,30,000	98,000	2,10,000	3,14,670	90,000	12,31,000	43,77,622	43,77,622	43,77,622

- Total expenditure incurred on IDS since inception of the project is Rs.43, 77,622/-.
- The sector-wise expenditure revealed that the project spent maximum on development of communication followed by irrigation, construction and drinking water.

The total expenditure incurred by Micro Project on IDS, IGS and Establishment since inception till 2000-01 are given in the Table-5 which reveals that the Project spent 46.53% on Infrastructure Development Schemes (IDS), 43.98% towards its establishment cost and only 9.53% on various Income Generation Schemes (IGS) out of the total fund released to the project.

Table-5

Expenditure Incurred by the Project on Establishment, Infrastructure (IDS) and Income Generation Programmes (IGS)

S1. No.	Head of expenditure	Total amount spent since inception of the project till 2000-01 (in Rs.)	Percentage of expenditure to The total utilized.
1	2	3	4
1	Establishment	41,33,115.00	43.94
2	Infrastructure Schemes (IDS)	43,77,622.00	46.53
3	Income Schemes (IGS)	8,96,560.98	9.53
	Total	94,07,297.98	100.00

ANTHROPOLOGY AND THE STUDY OF CULTURE: A THEORETICAL TREATISE

Pradyot Mohapatra *

The study of Man and Culture is synonymous. They constitute two sides of the same coin. The evolution of man signifies the evolution of culture. Several theories have been advanced to explain the nature of culture. Starting from evolutionism, we went through diffusionism, historical particularism, functionalism, structural-functionalism, structuralism of Levi-Strauss, and neoevolutionism of Leslie White for the purpose. The present focus on the study of culture is not to advance any new theory of culture but to understand when to *recognize* culture.

Etymologically anthropology is the science of Man. But anthropologists starting from Darwin have faced the problems inherent in defining man. Nevertheless there have been attempts to give a precise definition of man.

Some anthropologists accepted a purely physical definition of man. *Homo sapiens* were the end product of the long line of evolutionary scheme, and the other prehistoric types of men were defined with respect to him. Cranial capacity, the size of the jaw, the shape of the teeth etc. were the points that determined whether particular fossil evidence is to be regarded as a representative of man or not. May be, *Ramapithecus* on this basis was the earliest to belong to the family Hominidae. The evidence is suggested by his rounded dental arcade and short face. Sadly no stone tool industry has yet been found associated with *Ramapithecus*, except Dr Leakey's claim of a stone tool at Fort Ternan. A few jaw bones and some teeth of perhaps a dozen individuals are all the evidences regarding him.

Other anthropologists such as Wilfrid E. Le Gros Clark (following many scholars before him) have defined man as *the* tool-making animal. Few other animals can use tools, but man is the only animal who can make tools. The tool-kit of man includes the crude hand axe to the digital computer. Tool making is a *cultural* achievement. Therefore, on this basis 'Man and Culture' become synonymous. Crude stone implements have been found associated with *Australopithecus*; therefore, Le Gros Clark goes no further than *Australopithecus* as the earliest type of man. Recent estimates based on prehistoric archaeology suggest that man in the above sense has existed over the surface of the globe for more than two million years.

The third alternative definition of man was suggested by the French anthropologist Claude Levi-Strauss. For him, the incest taboo marked the beginning of human culture. Acceptance of the incest taboo necessitated the exchange of women between different kindred and tribes. Incest taboo became the symbol of 'Man and Culture'.

Therefore, we see that the study of man is equivalent to the study of culture. Early anthropologists were stuck by the phenomenon of human cultural *diversity*. Following the Age of Discovery in the sixteenth century, European men of letters began to study contemporary man. And that was the beginning of scientific anthropology. Anthropology started as the study of men, not Man. And the study of

men was the study of their material culture, the culture created by a people, not borrowed. For instance, "We know with certainty that in Australia among archaic savages who have neither metals, agriculture, pottery nor domesticated animals, a graduated scale of matrimonial institutions exists" (Lang 1911:161). Tool-making, speech, exogamy—all these are human cultural achievements. Culture itself is not biological, but something that biology in the form of the genus *Homo* has generated. Tylor speaks of the psychological unity of mankind. The roots of culture, noted the early anthropologists, were non-genetic or non-instinctive. Culture is not merely formulated instincts. It begins where instinct ends. The study of etiology or animal behavior makes a comparison between animal and human behavior and helps in drawing a line between instinct (nature) and culture.

The study of culture is now an established fact. But there is disagreement over whether the study of culture should be regarded a theoretical exercise or just the recognition of a concept. To be a theory, we should be able to test a set of propositions deduced from some initial hypothesis. The hypotheses is then affirmed or overruled. The study of culture does not provide any such scope. True, scholars such as Franz Boas (in the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* 1931:102) have spoken of the theories of culture. Evolutionism for example is a theory of culture. Having accepted cultural evolution, we look for evidence (as a test). But there is no direct evidence. We are in the realm of pure theory. We must accept evolutionism *a priori*. This has resulted in regarding culture as a concept rather than a set of theories. It is to be recognized as we recognize a tree. The concept of a tree enables us to recognize any tree that we might be seeing for the first time. Similarly, we must be able to recognize culture.

But the study of culture as theory has become a part of the tradition of anthropological theories in general, and therefore we cannot ignore it. We therefore begin with the oldest theory of culture known as evolutionism.

The theory of evolution is the brain-child of Darwin. The central idea behind evolution is "adaptation". Adaptation implies a fixed relationship between life and life and between life and non-life (environment). This is known as the law of evolution or the changeless nature of change. The fixed relationship between life and non-life is expressed by Buffon in the following words. According to him, "the same temperature might have been expected, all other circumstances being equal, to produce the same beings in different parts of the globe, both in animal and vegetable kingdoms" (quoted by Thielton-Dyer 1911:777). We vary the temperature and that varies the distribution of animals and plants.

In a like manner, Darwin observes a fixed relationship between life and life. According to him, "the mistletoe, with its pollen carried by insects, and seed by birds—the woodpecker, with its feet and tail, beak and tongue, to climb the tree and secure insects" is adaptation between life and life (quoted by Poulton 1911:843).

The law of evolution says that adaptation repeats itself. The present therefore is the key to the past. The implication for cultural anthropology therefore is to study the present primitive societies to have an idea about the past of mankind. The observable modes of acquisition of culture in the present primitive societies throw light on how the early man's ancestors acquired culture. The question of the origin of

culture is therefore settled. But there is another problem. Did the primitive societies acquire culture by passing through the same evolutionary steps? Tylor believed that they did so. He says, "It is now certain that there has been an inherent tendency in man, allowing for difference of climate and material surroundings, to develop culture in the same stages and in the same way" (Tylor 1911:119). That is to say, when there is no difference in climate and material surroundings (hypothesis), different people develop culture in the same way (thesis). The law of cultural evolution is a scientific law. It is framed in the Newtonian tradition. A thesis follows a hypothesis. The thesis can only follow the hypothesis. But the particular conditions in the hypothesis may never arise in reality. That is the nature of a scientific law.

The law of cultural evolution therefore cannot be empirically verified. But much controversy has arisen over the issue. The issue is now settled. The view of classical evolutionists is now given an historical interpretation. Cultural evolution is now interpreted as human civilization as a whole going from simplicity to complexity. For mankind as a whole hieroglyphic writing must have preceded modern writing.

Even if the ideas of Darwin dominate the theory behind cultural evolution, it is Lamarck whose idea of use and disuse of organs and the inheritance of acquired characteristics finds a readymade application in social evolution. Education as an acquired characteristic makes all the difference between man and animal. Among the animals nothing is learnt, nothing forgotten culturally. But in the case of man, in the words of John Fiske, "The creature's career is no longer determined by heredity...it becomes educable...it is no longer necessary for each generation to be exactly like that which has preceded" (quoted by Hallowell 1959:469). The use and disuse of education makes all the difference in human culture.

The social evolutionists were later challenged by the diffusionists. Diffusion or loan of culture is an historical fact. What the diffusionists attacked was the law of cultural evolution. They maintained that human beings are inherently non-inventive. The same climate and material surroundings may not therefore lead to the establishment of the same culture. According to the diffusionists therefore a cultural complex such as sorcery must have been invented by a particular man before it was diffused to other areas. Grand diffusionists such as Elliot Smith believed that Egypt is the fountain-head of all human culture.

The diffusionists are distinguished from the historical particularists such as Franz Boas. Boas saw the native from within. While the diffusionists were mainly interested in the diffusion of particular traits, Boas saw a particular trait as forming an element in a system of traits. The system of traits forming a culture complex, and the system of culture complexes forming an institution were treated as unique to a particular tribe. The full history of a single phenomenon was traced along with its complementary phenomena. Boas viewed each tribe as an individual creation. He seems to have been influenced by the teachings of Mendelism. The essential thing in Mendelism is the recognition of the individuality of the individual: "Constitutional differences of a radical nature may be concealed beneath apparent identity of external form" (Punnett 1911:119). For example, in the Mendelian experiment on the common pea, the apparent similarity between dwarf-ness may have concealed both dwarf and tall pea varieties in the parental generation. Boas seems to have followed this when he said that "though like causes have like effects, like effects have not like

causes....In ethnology all is individuality" (quoted by Buttner-Janusch 1957:321). As Boas stressed upon the historical study of particular cultures, the central problem of anthropology for him became "the relation between the objective world and man's subjective world as it had taken form in different cultures" (quoted by Hallowell 1959:432). The method of Boas is well illustrated by his recommendations regarding the display of museum objects. Some anthropologists such as Mason suggested that classification and display should follow typologies: different types of weapons should be put at the same place; different types of ornaments at the same place. For example, the specific evolution of the flute could be displayed by exhibiting all the different kinds of flutes found in different areas. Boas objected to this. He argued that a particular tribe should be displayed as possessing a collection of distinct items. According to Boas "From a collection of string instruments, flutes, or drums of 'savage' tribes and the modern orchestra, we cannot derive any conclusion but that similar means have been applied by all peoples to make music. The character of their music, the only object worth studying, which determines the form of the instruments, cannot be understood from the single instrument, but requires a complete collection of the single tribe" (quoted by Buttner-Janusch 1957:319) This principle is being followed at the *Adivasi* exhibition held every year during the month of January in Bhubaneswar. The recommendation of Mason is on the other hand followed by the tribal museum at The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Research and Training Institute (SCSTRTI) of the Government of Orissa located in Bhubaneswar.

Classical evolutionism and diffusionism are concerned mainly with the origin of culture. A historical particularist such as Franz Boas is sometimes considered a functionalist, since he viewed each culture as a functioning whole, as a system. But true functionalism began with Bronislaw Malinowski. Malinowski argued that "Until the nature of the various cultural phenomena, their function and their form are understood and described more fully, it seems premature to speculate on possible origins and stages" (1931:624). To understand a functioning culture, what is needed is intensive fieldwork. This Malinowski did among the Trobriand islanders. The Trobrianders have a system of trade known as the *Kula* ring (*Family of Man* 1975:2521). This trade ring has two levels: at the prestige level there is the ceremonial exchange of arm-shells and necklaces. These arm-shells and necklaces must always travel in opposite directions; they cannot be owned. Acquiring and passing a prestigious arm-shell or necklace is what the "Argonauts" hope for. After the ceremonial exchange is over, the Argonauts engage in ordinary trade in stone, pottery, feathers, and foodstuffs. This facilitates the circulation of scarce and unevenly distributed resources among hundreds of communities. The *Kula* ring as well as ordinary trade links myth, magic, economic exchange, and highly developed social rules as a functional whole. In the functional not sufficient enough analysis of Malinowski, parts are understood as they relate to wholes. For example, the agricultural complex can only be understood in its relationship to other factors such as food habits, system of land tenure, inheritance, wealth concepts, and trade practices.

Correlated with Malinowski's functionalism, there arose the theory of structural-functionalism mainly associated with the work of sociologists and social anthropologists such as Radcliffe-Brown. Malinowski's functionalism was based on human psychology. He recognized basic needs (food, protection, sexual outlets), instrumental needs (education, law, social control), and integrative needs (psychological security, social harmony, common world view). On the other hand the

roots of structural-functionalism are to be found in the concept of society. Society is more durable than individuals; the actors come and go but the play remains the same. Therefore for the structure-functionalists (1) culture is the product of a community, not of single individuals, and (2) the ultimate reality of human life is sociological, not psychological. According to these views therefore it is "not the human mind which is consciously constructing the social process in evolution; it is the social process which is constructing the human mind in evolution" (Kidd 1911:331).

Opposed to evolutionism, there arose a movement in cultural anthropology known as structuralism. Evolutionism recognizes a change from simplicity to complexity. Structuralism of the distinguished French anthropologist Claude Levi-Strauss recognizes no such change. Relying himself on the study of myths, Levi-Strauss claims that the human mind has always been thinking equally well. Society has not progressed in this sense. It has only been transformed. The complexities of Australian kinship systems are comparable to any product of modern science.

Levi-Strauss has borrowed his methods from many branches of knowledge—from linguistics to cybernetics. The structural-functionalism of Radcliffe-Brown was modeled on the biological concept of organism; Levi-Strauss shifted the attention to language which is specifically human. Following the teachings of structural linguistics, he made an *objective* study of culture where the different elements are studied in relation to each other. This is different from the earlier subjective study where the different elements of culture are studied in their relation to man. Following the clues of cybernetics he held that although culture is essentially different from nature, the human mind *unconsciously* duplicates nature. And this is the crux of structuralism, which has been defined as a combinatory game independent of consciousness.

Another anthropologist who was influenced by the objective method of structural linguistics was Leslie White. He studied human thought, act, and material product in their mutual relation to each other. According to White "culture has, in a very real sense, an extra-somatic character. Although made possible only by organisms of human beings [through the evolution of the neocortex which makes symbolic activity possible], once in existence and underway it has a life of its own...its own laws...explained in culturology" (quoted by Spindler 1959:513). Again, "The most realistic and scientifically adequate interpretation of culture is one that proceeds as if human beings did not exist" (quoted by Spindler 1959:513). When culture took a life of its own, independent of human will, it became energy-hungry. Technological advancement is now possible with the consumption of higher levels of energy. This is known as neoevolutionism.

The study of culture is a flourishing area in anthropology even today. Surely, according to the views of post-modernists, there is no distinction between nature and culture among the people anthropologists study—the primitive communities. But anthropology became a separate science only when the distinction was made between nature and culture. The study of human nature alone belongs to the life sciences proper, not to anthropology—the study of men, and by implication their culture.

* Research Student, Formerly Research Fellow, NISWASS, Bhubaneswar.

References:

- Boas, Franz 1931 Anthropology. In *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*.
- Buttner-Janusch, John 1957 Boas and Mason: Particularism versus Generalization. *American Anthropologist* 59:318-324.
- Family of Man* 1975 London: Marshall Cavendish Ltd.
- Hallowell, A. I. 1959 Personality, Culture, and Society in Behavioral Evolution. In *Psychology: A study of a Science*, ed. Sigmund Koch, pp. 429-509. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company.
- Kidd, Benjamin 1911 Sociology. In *Encyclopedia Britannica*.
- Lang, Andrew 1911 Family. In *Encyclopedia Britannica*.
- Malinowski, Bronislaw 1931 Culture. In *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*.
- Poulton, E. B. 1911 Darwin, Charles. In *Encyclopedia Britannica*.
- Punnett, R. C. 1911 Mendelism. In *Encyclopedia Britannica*.
- Spindler, George & Louise 1959 Psychology in Anthropology: Applications to Culture Change. In *Psychology: A study of a Science*, ed. Sigmund Koch, pp. 510-551. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company.
- Thiselton-Dyer, W. T. 1911 Plants. In *Encyclopedia Britannica*.
- Tylor, E. B. 1911 Anthropology. In *Encyclopedia Britannica*.

THE ORIGINAL HOMELAND OF THE SANTALS AND THEIR MIGRATION TO MAYURBHANJ: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS

*Subash Chandra Karua **

The Santals constitute one of the largest² proto - Austroloid³ aboriginal⁴ tribes of India. Since the past they were inhabiting in Southeastern Chotanagpur plateau⁵. The scenery of the main plateau is very attractive with its undulations, abrupt hills and forest tracts. There were groves of ancient mango trees, many of them are of enormous size. This is a prominent feature of the landscape of Chotanagpur. It is one of the most attractive parts of the Indian peninsula⁶. Later, the Santals have migrated to the western district of West Bengal, Santal pargana of Bihar and northern hilly district of Orissa and tea plantation areas of Assam at different times⁷. Majority of them live in different parts of Bihar, Bengal, Orissa, Jharkhand, Tripura and Chhatisgarh.

According to the census of 2001 out of 3,68,04,660 people of Orissa the number of Scheduled Tribe is 81,45,081 which comprised 22.13% of the population. In the district of Mayurbhanj the total population is 22,23,456 and the number Scheduled Tribes is 12,58,459 which constitutes 56% of the total population of the district.

Though, the uniqueness of language, traditions and culture of the Santal drew the attention of number of administrators, anthropologists, ethnologists, social scientists and researchers from India and abroad, very little work has been done on the Santals of Mayurbhanj except the work of Charulal Mukharjee⁸. In this paper a humble attempt is made to study the migration and settlement of the Santals in Mayurbhanj state in a broader historical perspective. They are one among the numerically large tribal groups of the Austro-Asiatic race to which the Munda, Hos, Kharria, Bhumijas and some other tribes belong⁹. L.O. Skrefsud points out that the name 'Santal' is a corruption of 'Saontar'. It was adopted by the tribe after their sojourn for several generations in Saont region of Midnapur of West Bengal. Before they went to Saont they had been termed 'Kharwar', the root of which is *Khar*; it is a variant of *hor* or 'man'-the term used by all the Santals¹⁰.

Santal, Sonthal, Saontal or Saontar are grouped as tribal Hindus¹¹ in Mayurbhanj. Out of sixty two¹² Scheduled Tribe of Orissa, forty-five¹³ are found in the district of Mayurbhanj. The Santal are found in districts like Keonjhar, Balasore, Sundargarh and Dhenkanal. The district of Mayurbhanj is populated¹⁴ largely by Santals. Among the people of different races and functional affinities, the place of honour, however has been given to the Santals alone who are numerically dominant.

Mayurbhanj is bounded on the north by the district of Singhbhum of Jharkhand and Midnapur district of West Bengal; on the South by the district of Balasore and Keonjhar; on the east by the Midnapur and Balasore district; on the West by the district of Keonjhar and Singhbhum¹⁶. It was the largest and wealthiest of the feudatory states of Orissa¹⁷. The Bhanja rulers are one of the oldest royal families of India and they are the oldest ruling dynasty of Orissa¹⁸. Mayurbhanj had the distinction of being administered by a ruling family in unbroken continuity for more than one thousand years from the 9th century AD till it was merged with Orissa on 1st January 1949¹⁹.

The Santals called themselves 'bir sindic'²⁰ or strong man and 'hor hopon'²¹ or son of the man. E.G. Man points out that the ethnological characteristics of the Santal distinguish them from all other races in India as nomadic and civilized. The men are of middling stature and they are remarkably well made with dark skins. They have strong limbs, some what thick lips and in many instances their cast of countenance almost approximates to the Negro type. They wear their hair, which is long and coarse, tied in a knot on the top of the head, the ends hanging down from the center²². Regarding their physical feature, R.R. Diwakar states that they are short in stature and they possess a broad flat nose with sunken nose ridge. They have wavy hairs, some-times curly, though never frizzy. They share these characteristics with other primitive tribes in the same group²³. Their dialect belongs to that of the Austro-Asiatic group. G.A. Grierison states that their dialect has been derived from old Kherwali language which had a similarity with other Mundari speaking people²⁴.

Santals do not have any written literature, though their traditional legends (*binti*) are current among them²⁵. Their traditional lore has been handed down orally from generation to generation²⁶.

Pilchu halam and *Pilchu budhi* are to be the first human couple (Adam & Eve) of the Santal myth²⁷ who were born from the egg of Hans and Hasin birds. In course of time seven sons and seven daughters were born and as such their family enlarged²⁸. The names of five²⁹ sons were Sandhra, Sandhom, Care, Mane and Acredelhu. The names of four³⁰ daughters were Chita, Kapu, Hisi and Dumni. The names of the rest children are forgotten³¹.

They believed that though they were originated at *Ahili-pipili* or *hihili-pipili*, but they became the settlers at Chai-champa which was regarded as their home land³². They recite the dong song:

*"Hihili pipili reban Janamlen
Khoj Kaman reban khojlen
Harat reban hara lena
Sasangbeda reban Jate lenho"*³³.

The Bengali version of the Santali song is described as follows.

<i>"Hihili pipirite Khoj kamane Harata dese Sasang beda dese</i>	<i>Jonme chhilam Khoj parchilo Bansa badrala Jatibhag holo"</i> ³⁴
--	---

A. Campbell narrates:

<i>"In Hihiri, mother In pipili, Mother In Haradata, Mother In Khoj Kaman, Mother</i>	<i>I was born I saw the light I grew up I was faught for"</i> ³⁵
---	---

P.O. Boddington narrates:

<i>"In Hihiripipiri In Khoj Kaman In Harat In Sasang beda</i>	<i>We were born we were called for We grew up We became sept."</i> ³⁶
---	--

From Khoj Kaman they went to Chai and then to Champa, where they resided for many years. Their social institution was instituted here³⁷. Regarding the identification of Champa, E.T. Dalton states that he is unable to identify the *Ahiri pipiri*, but Khairagarh and Chai Champa are in the Hazaribagh or Ramgarh district³⁸. L.O. Skrefsud derives the name *Hihiri* or *Ahuri pipiri* from the Hir origin, but others identify it with *Ahuri* pargana in the Hazaribagh district. From *Ahuri* pargana they moved to Khoj Kaman, then to Hara, then to Sasangbeda, then to Jarpi, then to Koinda, Chai and finally reached Champa. In Champa, they sojourned for many generations and the present social institution of the tribe was also formed there.³⁹

Champa was the capital of Anga⁴⁰ (South East Bihar). It was situated at the confluence of the river of the same name and the Ganges. It is stated in the 'Mahabharata', the purana and in 'the Hari Vamsa' that the ancient name of Champa was Malini⁴¹.

*"Champasya tu Puri champa
Ya maliny - ab bhavatpura"*⁴².

A great calamity took place with this race probably due to the invasions of the Mohammedans. Peace and order disappeared and the reign of terror prevailed.

E.T. Dalton has found the existence of an old fort at Chai, the walls of which were of earth and stone. A space of about five acres of land surrounded the fort. It was the abode of the Santal Raja named Jangra. He destroyed himself and his family members on hearing the approach of a Mohammedan army under Sayid Ibrahim Alli, a general of Mohammed Tughluq. Ibrahim was also known as Malik Baya and died in 1353 A.D.⁴³

The existence of the fort is also substantiated by J. Phillips who states that while Santals were dwelling in Chai Champa, they multiplied. Further he states that there were two gates - Ahin gate and Bahin gate of the fort of Chai Champa⁴⁴. The date of the capture of the fort by Ibrahim Alli may be 1340AD. After that the Santals might have migrated to different directions in-groups in search of the site for their settlement.

It appears that the Santals had first begun to settle in the hilly tracts of Damin-I-koh or Damin estate near Rajmahal hills⁴⁵ in the district of Santal Pargana in about 1790. The Santals faced a little opposition from the Malers (Paharia) who were the natives of this area. The Santals learnt the art of 'kurao' or 'jhum'⁴⁶ cultivation from the Paharias. So long as there were vast forests and low density of population this archaic method of cultivation did not do much harm. But with the shrinking of the forests and rapid growth of the immigrants it caused a lot of harm. Frequent jhumming of hill sides resulted in destruction of forests and soil erosion. The process of converting the forest and wilderness to cultivable land went on very rapidly. As a result various social evils sprang up rapidly. Like other aboriginals the Santals were toys in the hands of the money lenders and dishonest *amalas* (subordinate officials). Further under 'kamiauti'⁴⁷ system, a man borrowing money had to work for the lender until the debt was repaid. The position of the Santals became little better than that of slavery in the hands of the unscrupulous money lenders. Many Dikkus⁴⁸ (Non- aboriginals) had occupied the hilly tracts cleared by the Santal. Many plots of fertile paddy land prepared by the Santals, were occupied by the 'Dikkus' by means of mortgage deeds.

The Santals called themselves 'bir sindic'²⁰ or strong man and 'hor hopon'²¹ or son of the man. E.G. Man points out that the ethnological characteristics of the Santal distinguish them from all other races in India as nomadic and civilized. The men are of middling stature and they are remarkably well made with dark skins. They have strong limbs, some what thick lips and in many instances their cast of countenance almost approximates to the Negro type. They wear their hair, which is long and coarse, tied in a knot on the top of the head, the ends hanging down from the center²². Regarding their physical feature, R.R. Diwakar states that they are short in stature and they possess a broad flat nose with sunken nose ridge. They have wavy hairs, some-times curly, though never frizzy. They share these characteristics with other primitive tribes in the same group²³. Their dialect belongs to that of the Austro-Asiatic group. G.A. Grierson states that their dialect has been derived from old Kherwali language which had a similarity with other Mundari speaking people²⁴.

Santals do not have any written literature, though their traditional legends (*binti*) are current among them²⁵. Their traditional lore has been handed down orally from generation to generation²⁶.

Pilchu halam and *Pilchu budhi* are to be the first human couple (Adam & Eve) of the Santal myth²⁷ who were born from the egg of Hans and Hasin birds. In course of time seven sons and seven daughters were born and as such their family enlarged²⁸. The names of five²⁹ sons were Sandhra, Sandhom, Care, Mane and Acredelhu. The names of four³⁰ daughters were Chita, Kapu, Hisi and Dumni. The names of the rest children are forgotten³¹.

They believed that though they were originated at *Ahili-pipili* or *hihili-pipili*, but they became the settlers at Chai-champa which was regarded as their home land³². They recite the dong song:

*"Hihili pipili reban Janamlan
Khoj Kaman reban khojlen
Harat reban hara lena
Sasangbeda reban Jate lenho"*³³.

The Bengali version of the Santali song is described as follows.

*"Hihili pipirite
Khoj kamane
Harata dese
Sasang beda dese*

*Jonme chhilam
Khoj parchilo
Bansa badrala
Jatibhag holo"*³⁴

A. Campbell narrates:

*"In Hihiri, mother
In pipili, Mother
In Haradata, Mother
In Khoj Kaman, Mother*

*I was born
I saw the light
I grew up
I was faught for"*³⁵

P.O. Bodding narrates:

*"In Hihiripipiri
In Khoj Kaman
In Harat
In Sasang beda*

*We were born
we were called for
We grew up
We became sept."*³⁶

From Khoj Kaman they went to Chai and then to Champa, where they resided for many years. Their social division was instituted here³⁷. Regarding the identification of Champa, E.T. Dalton states that he is unable to identify the *Ahiri pipiri*, but Khairagarh and Chai Champa are in the Hazaribagh or Ramgarh district³⁸. L.O. Skrefsud derives the name *Hihiri* or *Ahuri pipiri* from the Hir origin, but others identify it with *Ahuri* pargana in the Hazaribagh district. From *Ahuri* pargana they moved to Khoj Kaman, then to Hara, then to Sasangbeda, then to Jarpi, then to Koinda, Chai and finally reached Champa. In Champa, they sojourned for many generations and the present social institution of the tribe was also formed there.³⁹

Champa was the capital of Anga⁴⁰ (South East Bihar). It was situated at the confluence of the river of the same name and the Ganges. It is stated in the 'Mahabharata', the purana and in 'the Hari Vamsa' that the ancient name of Champa was Malini⁴¹.

*"Champasya tu Puri champa
Ya maliny - ab bhavatpura"*⁴².

A great calamity took place with this race probably due to the invasions of the Mahammedans. Peace and order disappeared and the reign of terror prevailed.

E.T. Dalton has found the existence of an old fort at Chai, the walls of which were of earth and stone. A space of about five acres of land surrounded the fort. It was the abode of the Santal Raja named Jangra. He destroyed him-self and his family members on hearing the approach of a Mohammedan army under Sayid Ibrahim Alli, a general of Mohammed Tughluq. Ibrahim was also known as Malik Baya and died in 1353 A.D.⁴³

The existence of the fort is also substantiated by J. Phillips who states that while Santals were dwelling in Chai Champa, they multiplied. Further he states that there were two gates - Ahin gate and Bahin gate of the fort of Chai Champa⁴⁴. The date of the capture of the fort by Ibrahim Alli may be 1340AD. After that the Santals might have migrated to different directions in-groups in search of the site for their settlement.

It appears that the Santals had first begun to settle in the hilly tracts of Damin-I-koh or Damin estate near Rajmahal hills⁴⁵ in the district of Santal Pargana in about 1790. The Santals faced a little opposition from the Malers (Paharia) who were the natives of this area. The Santals learnt the art of 'kurao' or 'jhum'⁴⁶ cultivation from the Paharias. So long as there were vast forests and low density of population this archaic method of cultivation did not do much harm. But with the shrinking of the forests and rapid growth of the immigrants it caused a lot of harm. Frequent jhumming of hill sides resulted in destruction of forests and soil erosion. The process of converting the forest and wilderness to cultivable land went on very rapidly. As a result various social evils sprang up rapidly. Like other aboriginals the Santals were toys in the hands of the money lenders and dishonest *amalas* (subordinate officials). Further under 'kamiauti'⁴⁷ system, a man borrowing money had to work for the lender until the debt was repaid. The position of the Santals became little better than that of slavery in the hands of the unscrupulous money lenders. Many Dikkus⁴⁸ (Non- aboriginals) had occupied the hilly tracts cleared by the Santal. Many plots of fertile paddy land prepared by the Santals, were occupied by the 'Dikkus' by means of mortgage deeds.

The headman of a Santal village had to beg a permission from the land lord to convert a patch of forest land to a patch of cultivable land. The headman had to pay a sum fixed by the land lord for the said purpose. Though initially the fixed sum was paid, later the landlord began to demand much higher sum as a rent and harassed the villagers⁴⁹. So the Santals were compelled to leave such areas in search of tracts of virgin jungle, where the same process was repeated. Yet they were subject to torture and humiliation of the 'Dikkus'. Their smouldering discontentment on the agrarian issue exploded during the 19th century in the districts inhabited by the aboriginals⁵⁰. It was pointed out by Edward Gate in 1901 that the Santal migrated mostly to the areas rich in laterite soil. They not only migrated to Santal Pargana and many parts of Chotanagpur, but also to the laterite tracts of Malda, Dinapur, Rajasahi and Bogra⁵¹.

The Santal might have learnt the immense utility of Sal tree (*shorea robusta*)⁵² Mohua tree (*Madhuca latifolia*)⁵³ and Karam tree (*Adina cerdifolia*)⁵⁴ from their ancestors. For their sustenance these trees were quite significant from two angles - socio-religious and economic. They used to collect various kinds of roots, leaves, flowers, fruits, stems, and resin from the forest, which were consumed by them either as food or as medicine in their day-to-day life. They also sold these forest produce in the market.

Mayurbhanj state extended over an area of 4243 square miles and presented varieties of soil and sights. It had a rich valley. The Meghasani hills or 'the seats of clouds' rose to the height of 3824 ft. in the Southern part of the state⁵⁵. Different qualities of laterite soil was found through out the district⁵⁶. Moreover, the Similipal forest of Mayurbhanj district comprising a single compact block represented a virgin and semi evergreen forest with rich flora and fauna. The central core of the forest covered the ridges and ranges of hills and mountains and was undisturbed by any type of polluting factor. The forest growth was thick and impenetrable presenting massive growth of varieties of trees, the chief among them being the Sal trees⁵⁷.

The areas of Bamanghati and Nayabasan consisted of hills, dense jungle and valleys. These forests are quite significant and inaccessible for trade and commerce and were mostly inhabited by the rudest jungle tribes. The soil of northern Bamanghati was very fertile and fit for extensive cultivation. Red and yellow ochre were usually used by the Santals for painting their houses. The Yellowish limestone was also available in the bed of Burabalanga River at Mahulia of Baripada. The clay available on the laterite bed of Baripada was well suited for pottery⁵⁸.

They were in search of such areas where the above mentioned amenities were available. So the dense forest tract of Similipal and laterite bed of Mayurbhanj might have attracted these people for their settlement. Out of their several groups some might have settled in the hilly tracts of Similipal Mountains after the fall of Champa in about 1340AD.

The history of Mayurbhanj reveals that the Santal were living in this land much before 1340 AD. The Bamanghati copper plate inscription of 924 AD issued by Ranabhanja state that he granted four villages in favour of a son of Mahasamanta Mandi located in Uttarakhanda which comprised the Vishayas of Karandiya and Devakunda, which are identified with modern Karanjia and Devakunda respectively.⁵⁹

Another copper plate of Rajabhanja (Son⁶⁰ of Ranabhanja) records the grant of Brahmanvasti in the name to Subraman, the son of Samanta Mandi who may be

identified with Mahasamanta Mandi of the Bamanghati plate of Ranabhanja. Brahmanvasti may be identified with modern Brahmanvasa, six miles away from Rairangpur of Mayurbhanj⁶¹.

From the above copper plate inscriptions it may be assumed that Subraman Mandi was the son of Mahasamanta Mandi or Samanta Mandi who belonged to the Santal tribe. Mandi or Marndi is a title used only by the members of Santal community. Moreover out of their twelve septs Mandi or Marndi⁶² is the fifth clan of the Santal community. When they were originated in Champa they were wealthy class and they had a fort at Badoligarh⁶³.

If Ranabhanja the Bhanja king of Mayurbhanj was ruling during 924 AD, and if the date of copper plate inscriptions is true, the Santals of Mayurbhanj might have settled in Mayubhanj by 924A.D.

Thus it can be concluded that the opinion of Charulal Mukherjee relating to their migration to the district of Mayurbhanj towards the close of the 18th century⁶⁴ may not be acceptable. Two Bamanghati copper plate grants of Ranabhanja and Raja bhanja clearly indicates their settlement in Mayurbhanj prior to 924 A.D.

* Lecturer in History,
M.P.C. Autonomous College,
Baripada

References:

1. B.K.Roy Burman, "Tribal Demography: A Priliminary Appraisal" (ed), *The Tribal situation in India*. (Shimla, 2002), p. 37.
2. JAS, Vol. XVII, No.3 (1951), p. 23
3. JAS, Vol. XIX, No.1, (1952), p.4
4. JAS, Vol. XVII, No.3 (1951), op. cit; p.20
5. JAS, Vol. V, No.314 (1963), p.59
6. J.Houlton, *Bihar the heart of India*, (Bombay,1949), p.126
7. JAS, Vol. V, No.314 (1963), p.59
8. C.L.Mukharjee, *The Santals*, (Calcutta-1943).
9. J. Houlton, *op.cit*; p.78.
10. H.H.Risesy, *The Tribes and the Castes of Bengal*, Vol.II, (Calcutta, 1998), p.224
11. M.Laequddin, *cencus of Mayurbhanj, 1931*, (Calcutta, 1935), p.78
12. M.Ahmed, *District census hand book, Mayurbhanj*, (Cuttack, 1967), p.17
13. *Ibid*
14. N.M.Senapati, N.K.Sahu(eds), *Orissa district gazetteers, Mayurbhanj* (Cuttack 1967) p-1.
15. M.Laequddin, *Village Directory of Mayurbhanj State*, Vol.1, (Baripada, 1940), p.11
16. N.M.Senapati, N.K.Sahu, *op.cit*; p.2.
17. A.Wright (ed) *Bengal and Assam, Bihar and Orissa*, (London, 1917), p.574.
18. R.D.Benarjee, *History of Orissa*, Vol.1, (Calcutta, 1930) p.187.
19. N.M.Senapati, N.K.Sahu, *op.cit*; pp.1-2.
20. JPASB, Vol.XXVII, No.2(1931), p.241
21. JAS, Vol.XIX, No.1, (1952), p.31
22. E.G.Man, *Sonathalia and Sonthals*, (Delhi, 1983) p. 13.
23. R.R.Diwakar, *Bihar Through the Ages*, (Bombay,1959), p.78 JAS, Vol.XIX, No.1, (1952),p.4

24. G.A.Grierison, *Munda and Dravidan languages* Vol.IV, (Delhi, 1973), p.30
25. LSSO. Malley, *Bengal District Gazetteer, Santal Pargana*, (Calcutta, 1999), p.65
26. *JBORS*, Vol.11, Part-1, (1916), p.15
27. *Ibid*; p.17, The Santal mission of the Northern churches, The tradition and institution of the santals, Horkoren Mare Hapramko Reak' Katha, (Lucknow, 1958), p. 4.
28. *Ibid*; p.21, The Santal mission of the Northern churches.... (*Opcit*, p. 6).
29. *JAS*, Vol.XIX, No.1, (1952), *Op. cit*; p.13
P.O.Bodding, *Traditions and Institutions of Santal*, (New Delhi-2001), p.6.
30. *Ibid*.
31. *Ibid*, The Santal mission of the Northern churches... p. 6.
32. *JBORS*, Vol.11, Part-1, (1916), p.15.
33. *JAS*, Vol.XIX, No.1, (1952), p.18. The Santal mission of the Northern churches (*Opcit*, p. 9)
34. S.B.Sen, *The Santals of Jungle Mahals*, (Calcutta, 1984), p.33.
35. *JBORS*, Vol.11, Part-1, (1916), p.22.
36. P.O.Bodding, *Op.cit*; p.9
37. *JBORS*, VOL.11, part-1, (1916), p.22.
38. E.T.Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, (New Delhi, 1974), p.449.
39. H.H.Risely, *op.cit*; p.225.
40. R.P.Chand, *The Beginings of of Art in Eastern India with Special Reference to Sculptures in the Indian Museum*, (Calcutta, 1927), p.5.
41. H.C. Raychaudhuri, *political history of India*, (Calcutta, 1972), pp.95-96.
42. *Ibid*;
43. E.T. Dalton, *op.cit*; p.450
44. H.H. Risely, *op.cit*; p.226.
45. J. Houlton, *op.cit*; p.74.
46. *Ibid*; p.75.
47. *Ibid*
48. *Ibid*; p.76.
49. *Ibid*; p.78.
50. *Ibid*; p.79
51. *Ibid*.
52. N.M. Senapati, N.K. Sahu, *opcit*; p. 46
53. *Ibid*; p. 45
54. *Ibid*;
55. W.W. Hunter, *A Statistical Account of Bengal, Vol..XIX*, (London, 1877), p.303.
56. N.M. Senapati, N.K.Sahu, *op.cit*; p.14
57. *Ibid*; p.19
58. L.E.B. Cobden Ramsay, *Bengal Gazetteer, Feudatory States of Orissa*, (Calcutta, 1982), pp.236-239.
59. N.M. Senapati, N.K. Sahu, *opcit*; p.58. R.D. Benarjee, *opcit*; p.180
R.D. Benarjee, *Opcit*. P. 180.
60. B.C. Majumdar, *Orissa in the making*, (Calcutta-1925), p.127
61. N.M. Senapati, N.K.Sahu, *op.cit*; p.59
R.D. Benarjee, *op.cit*; p.181.
62. *JAS*, Vol.XIX, No-1, (1952), p,16.
63. *Ibid*;
64. C.L. Mukharjee, *op.cit*; pp.25-26.

CONTRIBUTORS

Name	Address
L. K. Mahapatra	Former Professor of Anthropology, Utkal University & Vice-Chancellor, Utkal & Sambalpur Universities & former Consultant to the World Bank & DFID-UNDP
Kedarnath Dash	Senior Lecturer in Anthropology, B.B. Mahavidyalaya, Chandikhole, Dist - Jajpur, Orissa
R.B. Mohanty	Reader in Botany, N.C. College, (Autonomous), Jajpur-755001, (Orissa)
Subash Ch. Karua	Lecturer in History, M.P.C. Autonomous College, Baripada
Md. Faisal Ahmed	Assistant Professor of Social Work, Shah Jalal University of Science and Technology, Sylhet, Bangladesh.
B.K. Mangaraj	Professor, Xavier Labour Relations Institute, School of Business and Human Resources, Jamshedpur, Jharkhand-831035
Upali Aparajita	Reader, Department of Anthropology, Utkal University, Bhubaneswar, Orissa-751004
Sarat Ch. Mohanty	Research Officer, SC & ST Research and Training Institute (SCSTRTI), Bhubaneswar
K.C. Panigrahy	A Social Researcher of Koraput
B.L. Dash	Reader in Botany, F.M.College, Balasore, Orissa
N.C. Dash	Professor and Head of the Department of Population Study, F.M. University, Balasore.
Nishakar Panda	Qr. No.1/008, BDA Apartment, Nilakantha Nagar, Bhubaneswar-751012.
K. Patnaik	Research Officer, SC & ST Research and Training Institute (SCSTRTI), Bhubaneswar
R.P. Mohanty	Research Assistant, SC & ST Research and Training Institute (SCSTRTI), Bhubaneswar
Pradyot Mohapatra	Research Student, Formerly Research Fellow, NISWASS, Bhubaneswar.

CONTRIBUTORS

Name	Address
L. K. Mahapatra	Former Professor of Anthropology, Utkal University & Vice-Chancellor, Utkal & Sambalpur Universities & former Consultant to the World Bank & DFID-UNDP
Kedarnath Dash	Senior Lecturer in Anthropology, B.B. Mahavidyalaya, Chandikhole, Dist - Jajpur, Orissa
R.B. Mohanty	Reader in Botany, N.C. College, (Autonomous), Jajpur-755001, (Orissa)
Subash Ch. Karua	Lecturer in History, M.P.C. Autonomous College, Baripada
Md. Faisal Ahmed	Assistant Professor of Social Work, Shah Jalal University of Science and Technology, Sylhet, Bangladesh.
B.K. Mangaraj	Professor, Xavier Labour Relations Institute, School of Business and Human Resources, Jamshedpur, Jharkhand-831035
Upali Aparajita	Reader, Department of Anthropology, Utkal University, Bhubaneswar, Orissa-751004
Sarat Ch. Mohanty	Research Officer, SC & ST Research and Training Institute (SCSTRTI), Bhubaneswar
K.C. Panigrahy	A Social Researcher of Koraput
B.L. Dash	Reader in Botany, F.M.College, Balasore, Orissa
N.C. Dash	Professor and Head of the Department of Population Study, F.M. University, Balasore.
Nishakar Panda	Qr. No.1/008, BDA Apartment, Nilakantha Nagar, Bhubaneswar-751012.
K. Patnaik	Research Officer, SC & ST Research and Training Institute (SCSTRTI), Bhubaneswar
R.P. Mohanty	Research Assistant, SC & ST Research and Training Institute (SCSTRTI), Bhubaneswar
Pradyot Mohapatra	Research Student, Formerly Research Fellow, NISWASS, Bhubaneswar.

**STATEMENT ABOUT OWNERSHIP AND PARTICULARS ABOUT THE
NEWSPAPER TITLED ADIVASI AS REQUIRED TO BE PUBLISHED
UNDER RULE 8 OF THE REGISTRATION OF NEWSPAPER (CENTRAL)
RULE, 1956**

FORM - IV

Place of Publication : Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes
Research and Training Institute
(SCSTRTI), Bhubaneswar- 751003,
District - Khurda

Periodicity of the Publication : Half-yearly

Printer's name : Director, Printing, Stationery and
Publication, Orissa, Cuttack.

Nationality : Indian

Address : Madhupatna, Cuttack-10

Publisher's name : Director, Scheduled Castes and
Scheduled Tribes Research and Training
Institute (SCSTRTI), Government of
Orissa.

Nationality : Indian

Address : Bhubaneswar-03

Editor's name : Dr. A.B.Ota, Director of
Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes
Research and Training Institute
(SCSTRTI), Bhubaneswar-751003

Nationality : Indian

Address : Bhubaneswar, Orissa, India,
PIN - 751003

INSTITUTE'S PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Monographs on Scheduled Tribes

1. THE KONDH OF ORISSA, N. Patnaik, P.S. Daspatnaik Dy -8, p.p. 353 (including bibliography maps, 23 plates), hard cover, 1982, Rs. 55/-
2. LIFE IN SONABERA PLATEAU: ANTHROPOLOGY OF THE BHUNJIAS OF KALAHANDI, ORISSA, N. Patnaik, P.K. Mohanty, T. Sahoo, Dy -8, p.p. 128 (including bibliography, 20 plates, maps and charts), hard cover, 1984, Rs 50/-
3. THE BONDOS AND THEIR RESPONSE TO DEVELOPMENT, N. Patnaik, B. Chowdhury, P.S. Daspatnaik, Dy -8, p.p. 201, (including bibliography, 13 plates), Paper back, 1984, Rs. 89/-
4. HAND BOOK ON THE JUANG, S.P. Rout, Published in Adibasi, Vol. XI, Nos. 1 & 2, April & July, 1969, Rs. 8/-
5. HAND BOOK ON KOYA, Ch. P.K. Mohapatra, Published in Adibasi, Vol. XI, No 4, January, 1970, Rs. 4/-
6. THE KONDH OF ORISSA (Revised and enlarged edition) Dy -8, p.p. -440, hard cover, 2006, Rs 250/-

Popular Series on Tribes

7. THE JUANG, Ed. N. Patnaik, Dy -8, p.p. 88 (including bibliography, 11 plates, sketches), hard cover, 1989, Rs. 74/-
- *8. THE SAORA, Ed. N. Patnaik, Dy -8, p.p. 77 (including bibliography, 11 plates, sketches), hard cover, 1989, Rs. 74/-
9. THE KOYA, Ch. P.K. Mohapatra, Dy -8, p.p. 65 (including bibliography) paper back, Rs. 54/-

Photo Hand Books on Primitive Tribes of Orissa

10. Bonda, A,B Ota, S,C, Mohanty, pp 28, 2008, Rs 90/-
11. Lanja Saora, A,B Ota, S,C, Mohanty, pp 28, 2008, Rs 90/-
12. Dongria Kandha, A,B Ota, S,C, Mohanty, pp 32, 2008, Rs 90/-
13. Primitive Tribes of Orissa, A,B Ota, S,C, Mohanty, T. Sahoo, B. Mohanty, pp 22, 2008, Rs 65/-

Monographs on Scheduled Castes

- *14. BAURI OF BHUBANESWAR: A STUDY ON THE URBANIZATION PROCESSES IN A SCHEDULED CASTE, M. Mahapatra, Dy -4, p.p. 70 (including sketches) paper back, 1978, Rs 43/-
15. SAPUA KELA, N. Patnaik, B. Chowdhury, Dy -8, p.p. 136 (including bibliography, 9 plates, maps & charts), hard cover, 1989, Rs 89/-
16. THE GANDA: A SCHEDULED CASTE WEAVER COMMUNITY OF WESTERN ORISSA, N. Patnaik, S.C. Mohanty, Dy -8, p.p. 274 (including bibliography, maps), paper back, 1988, Rs. 114/-
17. A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE DANDASI: A SCHEDULED CASTE COMMUNITY OF ORISSA, N. Patnaik, A. Malik, Dy -8, p.p. 42 (including bibliography) paper back, 1988, Rs. 10/-
18. THE GHASI: A SCHEDULED CASTE COMMUNITY OF ORISSA, T. Sahoo, Ed. K.K. Mohanti, Dy -8, p.p. 68 (including bibliography, map, chart), paper back, 1994, Rs. 45/-
19. THE JAYANTIRA PANO: A SCHEDULED CASTE COMMUNITY OF ORISSA, Mohan Behera, Ed. K.K. Mohanti, Dy -8, p.p. 116 (including bibliography, map), paper back, 1994, Rs. 55/-
20. THE ADURIA DOM OF ORISSA: A MONOGRAPHIC STUDY, A.K. Mohanty, A.K. Gomango, Ed. K.K. Mohanti, Dy -8, p.p. 106 (including bibliography, map) paper back, 1997, Rs. 75/-

Other Special Publications

21. ADIBASI ATLAS ORISSA, Vol. I, Contains 16 maps showing some of the basic features of tribes of Orissa, Size 59 x 39 c.m. p.p. 65 (maps & tables), Resin bound, 1987, Rs. 400/-
22. TRIBAL EDUCATION IN ORISSA IN THE CONTEXT OF EDUCATION FOR ALL, BY 2000 A D A STATUS PAPER, Dy -4, p.p. 296 (including bibliography, charts) paper back, 1994, Rs. 260/-
23. DEVELOPMENT HANDBOOK FOR THE BONDO OF BONDO DEVELOPMENT AGENCY AREA, MUDULIPADA, MALKANGIRI DISTRICT (An action plan based on techno-economic survey), Dy -4, p.p. 195 (including bibliography, maps) paper back, 1996, Rs. 200/-
24. DEVELOPMENT HANDBOOK FOR THE KUTIA KANDHA OF K.K.D.A., BELGHAR, PHULBANI DISTRICT (An action plan based on techno-economic survey) Dy -4, p.p. 212 (including bibliography, map), paper back, 1996, Rs. 200/-
- *25. BIKAS O SACHETANATA (In Oriya), Dy -8, p.p. 193, 1997.
26. Development Indicator Chart: A Comparative Picture of the ST in Orissa.
27. Tribes of Orissa: Revised Edition 2004, Rs. 350/-
28. Collection & Sale of Minor Forest Produce among the Tribes of Orissa: A Socio-Structural & Economic Analysis, Rs. 150
30. Development Handbook for the Juang of Juang Development Agency Area, Gonasika, Keonjhar District, Orissa (An Action Plan Based on Techno-Economic Survey)
30. Data Hand Book on STs & SCs of Orissa, Dy -4, p.p. -383, paper back, 2006, Rs. 450/-
31. Tribes in Orissa: at a Glance, (brochure), 2008, Rs. 35/-

Journal

ADIVASI is the Journal of the Institute published twice a year. It publishes research papers in the field of Social Sciences, Development Studies and Problems of SC & ST.

NB : Publications with * star-mark are out of stock.

Back Issues of Adivasi are also Available for Sale